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The Shape of Things

MR. GROMYKO'S NEW PROPOSAL ON ATOMIC-energy control brings the subject into what the New York *Herald Tribune* describes as the "middle zone" of discussion. For the first time we have a Soviet plan of international inspection blocked out in some detail. Beginning with his usual insistence on the prime importance of a convention outlawing atomic weapons, the Soviet delegate conceded that an international inspection system could be established simultaneously with such a convention. His plan calls for an International Control Commission responsible to the Security Council. The commission would have wide powers of inspection, with access to uranium mines and atomic installations in all parts of the world. It would not have authority to operate such atomic-energy facilities, a basic feature of the American scheme. Nor would it have the power to impose punishment for violations. This would rest with the Security Council and would presumably be subject to veto. Moreover, the Russian proposal gives wide latitude to national research and development in the field of atomic energy. Some critics already see it as merely a device to prolong the period of indecision and prevent the formation of an international atomic control set-up in a Western bloc of nations. These critics view Mr. Gromyko's whole performance as simply an intermittent filibuster to keep matters open until Russia has its own atomic plants in operation. We prefer to consider the new proposals more seriously. From the standpoint of international security, they appear far from adequate and are open to certain objections that have already been raised in the Atomic Energy Commission. But they have provided a meeting ground for argument that has been singularly lacking in the year since the commission first got to work. They should not, and we are sure they will not, be lightly dismissed.

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SOMEBODY IS WOOLGATHERING THESE DAYS, but in this particular case he is not in the State Department. Secretary Marshall, strongly backed by former Secretary Hull, has made it quite clear to Congress that the little game they have been playing with wool will wreck any chances of success that Will Clayton's multilateral trade policies might have in Geneva. The sorry spectacle in Washington illustrates all too tragically the cross-purposes in economic policy that paralyze any attempts we may be initiating to assist in world recovery. An interest-ridden Congress seems incapable of understanding the elementary principles of world trade. And now it turns out that the Department of Agriculture, with a concern for the nation's sheepmen and with an eye to the nation's gigantic wool pile, also played a dubious role in the drafting of the import-fee proposal. The proposed amendments, which would establish import quotas exempt from the new impost, will scarcely win many friends in Australia, 90 per cent of whose imports to this country consists of wool. Nor will it check the growing disillusionment with American multilateral trade talk that has seized the majority of delegates at the Geneva meeting. It looks as if the bill would pass. The President should veto it and give Congress a chance to show some uncommon sense in reenacting the wool subsidy without any new import fee or quota tagged on. This would give the grower what he needs. It would be less expensive in the long run, particularly to the American consumer, who with a new tariff would be compelled to pay a whole series of mark-ups far in excess of the initial fee. Most of all, it would be one way for Congress to prove that an American President is not talking platitudinous nonsense when he says that "we intend to expend our energies and devote our substance in promoting world recovery."

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IS CONGRESS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH ITS supremacy over the judicial branch of the government in defiance of the Constitution? Recently the Portal-to-Portal Act outlawed hundreds of suits already filed and forbade the courts to take jurisdiction in certain types of cases. The Taft-Hartley labor bill provides for a "general counsel" to the National Labor Relations Board who is to decide, without any possibility of appeal, what cases should or should not be heard by the board. And now the Senate has before it the Reed-Bulwinkle bill, the avowed purpose of which is to exempt the railroads from the anti-trust laws and sidetrack the Department of Justice suit against the Western railroads. Proponents of the bill claim that the railroads cannot indulge in monopolistic practices since all their actions are regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission. But as

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

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Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

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Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho noted in a strong attack on this legislation, "the language of the bill is such that the ICC, at least in the field of rates, needs only to approve a basic agreement between carriers setting up the rules and procedures for establishing rates. Thereupon any action taken pursuant to that master agreement by the carriers need not be submitted to the ICC and is likewise exempt from anti-trust legislation." Since the ICC in recent years has been notoriously lax in protecting shippers and policing the collusive activities of the railroads, it is reasonable to expect that passage of this bill will solidify monopoly in transport. More than that, as Senator Charles W. Tobey has pointed out, "this legislation sets a pattern for supplanting the American system of competitive enterprise." The insurance industry is already seeking exemption from the anti-trust laws, and other industry lobbies are not likely to be bashful in pushing their claims.

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THE CHOICE OF NORMAN ARMOUR TO FILL the post left vacant by Spruille Braden is another sign that the much-needed reorganization of the State Department means primarily the creation of a staff closely geared to the Truman-Marshall foreign policy. The fact that Mr. Armour is a civilian and a retired career diplomat gave some newspapers the idea that his appointment would offset the growing weight of Wall Street and the army. This is a most superficial bit of optimism. Armour is an efficient, conventional foreign-service man. He is neither an innovator nor a liberal. As Assistant Secretary in charge of American republics' affairs, his assignment is much broader than Mr. Braden's was, including political affairs in all four of the department's geographical divisions—European, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern, as well as Latin American. In this critical post, Mr. Armour will exhibit none of the sharp corners that made his pro-democratic predecessor a problem child in the department. What he will bring to his job is long experience, knowledge and a readiness to help apply the new concepts of American security to Latin America and the rest of the world. We do not quarrel with Secretary Marshall's effort to convert the State Department into a coordinated working organism; what we object to is an interpretation of the Armour appointment as a liberal deviation from recent practice.

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LORD TEMPLEWOOD'S WARNING IN THE House of Lords that the crisis in Spain "will lead sooner or later to a situation which is going to create a great international upheaval" comes at a timely moment. The publicity given to the Dictator's tour through the country, when he was acclaimed by enthusiastic crowds shouting *"Franco si, Rusia no,"* coupled with the announcement of a national plebiscite on the Succession Law on July 6, had filled the appeasers in London and Washington with

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joy. Even some who sympathize with the Republican cause (but still more with the Truman Doctrine) have begun to accept Spain as a link in the "cordon sanitaire" and to justify this attitude by saying, "Well, if Franco is so strong and the people want him, what can we do about it?" The former British Ambassador, whose book on Spain showed him to be a far keener observer than his American colleagues, is less complacent. He fears an outburst in Spain that will gravely complicate the already difficult and sensitive European situation. Lord Templewood has enough imagination to realize the consequences of open revolt, and he foresees Europe and the world again divided on Spain, with the left in all countries ready to fight on the side of Franco's enemies and every world capital seething with agitation as in the days of the civil war. To avoid such a development he advocates that Britain and the United States apply "an economic embargo to bring an end to the government of Generalissimo Franco." Lord Templewood's attitude has been fully endorsed by the World Federation of Trade Unions, meeting at Prague, which voted to raise a fund to help the resistance movement in Spain. The C. I. O. joined European and Latin American labor in reaching this decision.

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THE SPECIAL ELECTION IN WASHINGTON'S Third Congressional District, in which Charles R. Savage, a Wallace man, was beaten by a bare 1,500 out of 65,000 votes, had ramifications and implications, not all of which were accounted for in the press. The press generally acknowledged that the Republicans were somewhat shaken by the apparent loss of 5,500 votes in the district—which had gone Republican by a margin of 7,000 in 1946—but it added with some satisfaction (in the words of the New York *Herald Tribune*), "the fact remains that Mr. Wallace's man was beaten." Many newspapers saw in Mr. Savage's defeat an affirmation, by Washingtonians, of the Truman Doctrine. But even if the explanation of the result were as simple as that, the "affirmation" must be considered pretty slim. The truth is that Savage was on the receiving end of a bitter, if undercover, Republican attack which successfully tagged him as a "red." Reports from the West Coast inform us that "the Republicans succeeded in hanging the De Lacy label on Savage" and that this maneuver, "emphasizing the Communist issue, evidently sank him." Mr. De Lacy, readers will recall, was the left-wing Democratic Congressman who was overwhelmingly defeated last fall. Savage had preserved a cautious silence on foreign policy in the pre-election week, but perhaps he was too silent: it was the week of news from Hungary and Eastern Europe. The Republicans, apparently, were clever enough to tie it all together and persuade the timid that Savage was "dangerous." But they were not clever enough to save the votes of 5,500 people who, after seven short months, were fed up with Throttlebottomism and "sensible economies" which would cut the heart out of Western reclamation and power projects.

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ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING 60,000,000 Americans of diverse creeds and social groups are making a concerted effort next Wednesday to persuade Congress that "The people want housing!" It seems particularly tactless of the House Appropriations Committee, then, to take this moment to announce its proposed $5,000,000 cut in the Federal Housing Subsidy Fund which would virtually wipe out public housing in America. We shall carefully examine the committee's proposal in an early issue, and meanwhile we urge all who feel housing is our nation's most serious deficiency to make their voices heard on "Fight for Housing Day."

The Marshall Plan

AT HIS press conference on June 12, Secretary of State Marshall added a vital footnote to his speech at Harvard a week earlier. When talking about a program of European aid, he told the correspondents, he included in Europe not only Britain but the Soviet Union. The implication surely is that the Administration is not yet ready to listen to those who advise it to make a separate peace with Germany and concentrate on the salvage of Western Europe. It is going to make at least one more effort to prevent the development of two irreconcilable worlds. Switching the emphasis of the Truman Doctrine from anti-communism to recovery, it is inviting Russia and the countries that it dominates to cooperate in drafting an economic program which will provide practical justification for further American assistance.

This is a wise move. Difficult as it may prove to bring Russia into such a program, it would be still more difficult to leave Russia out. This may be why Ernest Bevin, who has now hailed the Marshall plan with great enthusiasm, was decidedly cautious in his first reactions to the Harvard speech. Even so stout an anti-Communist as the British Foreign Secretary is not prepared to indorse proposals that involve splitting Europe in two. He knows that any attempt to organize Western Europe as an American buttress against the Soviet Union would cause the bitterest dissensions in France and Italy, and in Britain itself.

Moreover, the political rending of Europe would multiply its economic problems. Mr. Marshall in his Harvard speech spoke of the breakdown of exchange between town and country in many lands. The farmer, unable to buy manufactured goods, is unwilling to sell his produce; he prefers to feed his family well and add to his capital by raising stock instead of cultivating crops. There is a somewhat similar breakdown of exchange between the industrial countries of Western Europe and the agricultural states in the East. Division of the Con-

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tinent would perpetuate this situation, compelling the nations of the West to make up their food deficiencies entirely from overseas and to find new markets for their manufactures in order to provide the means of payment. Consequently, financing the recovery of Western Europe alone might well prove a heavier financial burden to the United States than a program based on the reintegration of the whole Continent.

The Marshall plan recognizes that doling out loans and grants to one country at a time provides, at best, palliatives for Europe's ills. A cure will not be effected until the production of the Continent as a whole is sufficient to provide for a reasonable standard of consumption. Without outside aid, the process of restoring this balance will involve a degree of austerity which only governments with dictatorial powers can readily enforce. This point is well illustrated by the present struggle of the French Cabinet to ward off inflation. The fact is, as Mr. Marshall pointed out, "that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character. The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European peoples in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole."

Many of the economic problems common to the European nations—coal, food, and transport, for example—cannot be dealt with satisfactorily except on a Continental scale. But a solution for such problems ought not to be imposed unilaterally by the United States, and Mr. Marshall, therefore, has invited the nations of Europe to attempt to agree on an economic program which America can underwrite with some confidence that it will serve to set Europe firmly on its feet. Fortunately, there is already in existence a body which might undertake the drafting of such a program—the Economic Commission for Europe of the U. N., which is meeting in Geneva early next month. Russia is a member of this body.

While Mr. Marshall's plan offers a new hope, we need hardly warn readers that the obstacles to its achievement are formidable. One difficulty is the time element, for a major crisis in Europe is likely by early winter at the latest unless action is forthcoming. As the London *Economist* puts it: "If Mr. Marshall's initiative is to be accepted by the American people, it will have to be embodied in an ambitious and inspiring program within a matter of months. But if the European nations are to do anything more than simply add up their national deficits and present the total of one figure instead of half a dozen, they will need much more than three months for the purpose."

Time is required not merely to perfect plans, but to lessen the suspicions that haunt the Kremlin and Capitol Hill alike. We fear the Russians and they fear us. Can we persuade them that our program is not a new form of dollar imperialism? Can they convince us that if we aid their recovery they will not use their renewed strength to spread the world revolution?

Aggressive Soviet tactics and bad manners are not to be taken as proof that Stalin is bent on a career of conquest. They are probably signs of weakness rather than strength, for there is every reason to suppose that Russia is in no position to contemplate war. It will be years before the enormous losses inflicted by the Nazis are recouped and its people can hope for an expansion of consumption. That is one reason why the Soviet government has been so insistent on securing reparations from Germany and other ex-enemy states. We condemn such actions as delaying recovery in Europe, but we have done little to speed Russia's own recovery problem.

If we now want to obtain Russian cooperation in a Continental economic program, we shall have to persuade Stalin that he has more to gain by coming in than by staying out. That involves settlement of some outstanding political differences between Russia and the West. Above all, an understanding on Germany is essential, for as long as Germany remains split in two, Europe will remain divided. Nor can we hope to construct an effective recovery program for Europe that does not include plans for restoring German productivity.

An understandable reason for skepticism in Europe about the Marshall plan is the expectation of bitter Congressional opposition. Capitol Hill has been oversold on "the red peril," and a big scheme of financial assistance that included Russia would certainly provoke many Congressmen to blind but not silent rage. Even a program for Western Europe alone would have tough sledding. The Alsops in their June 15 column quote a Senator as saying, "There's going to be one hell of a fight before the Senate will approve another cent for spending abroad."

Fortunately there are men in Congress who are better informed about the international facts of life and fully aware that total collapse in Europe would have shattering repercussions on the political and economic welfare of this country. Senator Vandenberg has announced his general approval of Mr. Marshall's proposals and as a contribution to their realization has called for "a total balance sheet" of American resources. He thinks we should have a clear idea of what would be the effect on our economy of the shipment to Europe of the food, steel, machinery, and other goods that it needs.

Such an investigation is very much in order, provided that it includes a study of the domestic results of a denial of assistance. What would be the effect of the slump in our present tremendous volume of exports which is in-

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evitable in the next twelve months unless foreign supplies of dollars are augmented? Could the impact of such a slump turn mild recession into deep depression, leaving idle the workers and machines that might have been supplying Europe's needs? If so, how would this affect both sides of the national budget? An honest answer to such questions will, we believe, show that we can no more escape the consequences of world economic interdependence than we can those of world political interdependence. If we do not aid Europe to become our partner in prosperity we shall surely find ourselves her partner in misery.

Behind the Hungarian "Coup"

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS natural that politicians and headline writers and similar artisans should interpret public happenings to suit their needs and the views of their bosses. One cannot expect them to analyze—or even to mention—the complexities of such events as the Hungarian government upset; to call it a "Soviet coup" or a "Communist putsch" and let it go at that is easier and fits better into the broad anti-Russian policy proclaimed thrice daily in Washington. Since the identical technique is employed by corresponding operators in other countries, with Russia leading the field in both virtuosity and self-deception, the result, however unavoidable, is a worldwide sowing of politically explosive misinformation.

The Hungarian crisis was a made-to-order opportunity for the application of this technique. But others are coming along: in Bulgaria, in Austria, in Rumania. Poland, too, at no great distance. Each will be attributed by one side—the Russian—exclusively to the machinations of the Western powers to restore the old reactionaries to power; and by our side to a Russian coup intended to tighten the Kremlin's strangle-hold on a helpless people. Both stories will be fractionally true, but neither will take account of the other or of the convulsive dislocations and readjustments that make such crises inevitable in Eastern Europe even without the eager intervention of foreign interests.

That Moscow used the crisis in Budapest as a means of shifting the weight inside the government to groups and individuals favorable to its interests may be taken for granted. That it also fabricated the conspiracy for which members of the Smallholders Party have already been convicted is wholly unlikely. Whether the confession of Mr. Kovacs implicating ex-Premier Nagy, who has just arrived to tell his story to the American people and the State Department, was extorted or ghost-written I do not know. Although the Russian chairman of the Allied Control Commission refused to hand it and other evidence over to the Americans, several Hungarian papers in this country have printed what purports to be a full text; if it is authentic, the authorities in Washington can examine it without Soviet permission, and form their own conclusions. But nothing they now discover can alter the fact, established through court trials normally conducted, that a conspiracy against the government was hatched in the ranks of the Smallholders and as a result a government and party crisis developed which finally involved the ousting of Mr. Nagy and his replacement by Mr. Dinnyes.

Since the Soviet Union controls the Hungarian government in all essentials and will continue to do so as long as the Red Army remains in the country, the change can benefit Russia chiefly by eliminating possible troublemakers and creating conditions which may keep friendly elements on top after the occupation ends. At the same time, the Western powers have been politically checkmated, and without undue cynicism one must assume that this fact accounts for the shocked solicitude expressed in Washington—and, more circumspectly, in London—about the fate of certain democratic virtues whose absence in Greece has at most been officially noted only in passing.

The United States believes Russia is trying to extend its control throughout Europe and the Middle East, if not beyond. Russia believes the United States, with Britain as a half-hearted ally, intends to challenge Soviet influence even in the countries immediately bordering it. The Truman Doctrine undoubtedly stimulated Russia to counter-moves, as was certain from the start. Russian moves have produced the latest American crop of accusations and demands. These in turn will surely lead to new demonstrations by Moscow that its interests are not to be jeopardized by Western pressure. And beneath the surface of this mounting political warfare is the all-but-disregarded struggle of a group of backward countries to throw off the remnants of an oppressive oligarchy and an economic system both corrupt and antiquated.

In Hungary full-fledged fascism came to power three years before Mussolini took over in Rome. The white terror wiped out the liberals and radicals and thousands of Jews—together with the reforms initiated by the weak but democratic government of Count Karolyi and the short-lived dictatorship of Bela Kun. Horthy and his Awakening Magyars enthroned Hungarian chauvinism in all its primitive unreason. The "squirearchy" regained power; the peasant suffered and had less to eat than before the war. But when Hitler drew Hungary into the Axis camp, the chauvinists easily accepted their country's satellite role in the ingenuous belief that eventually it

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would lead to the restoration of Hungary's lost frontiers, and their own lands. The Horthy-Bethlen regime was among Hitler's most contented slaves. And it was not until the Red Army fought its way into Hungary and set up a provisional government at Debrecen that the chance came to overthrow the ruling clique and make another try at establishing a decent order.

It is not true that this has been accomplished ruthlessly. It has not even been accomplished effectively. When the Russians went in, many of the best Hungarian democrats were in exile. The country was badly smashed by the war. People were hungry, and still are. The Red Army looted huge amounts of movable property and fed itself off the country, as it still does. The financial system was in ruins; money became worthless. And Russia, far from forcing revolution on Hungary, seemed to care little what sort of system was established as long as the government proved amenable.

From the beginning, the necessary revolution in Hungary has been compromised and weakened by divided counsels, corruption, political intrigue, Russian indifference coupled with Russian exactions, and the lively sabotage of collaborationists and dispossessed landowners and officials. The marvel is that the land reform was actually put through: the great estates were divided, the squirearchy stripped of its power.

But in a country like Hungary, with no middle class and no tradition of democratic procedure, even a halting revolution could hardly be expected to take place without coercion on one side and conspiracy on the other. An intrenched and arrogant ruling class does not give up without a struggle, and since fascist parties had been outlawed, the Smallholders Party became an asylum in which rightist leaders found refuge. Though the party won a large popular vote, it is essentially weak as the result of profound conflicts among its disparate elements. In a revolution, no politician can merely remain neutral; if this was Mr. Nagy's attempted role, it was doomed at the start. But if he took sides, he must have done so knowing he was also choosing between Russia and the West.

Meanwhile the United States, ignoring every factor except the one that relates to the spread of Russian power, has taken the counter-offensive. The politicians shout Soviet coup, the press repeats it in letters three inches high. And in the midst of the clamor, few people remember that twenty-eight years ago the Allied nations betrayed their promise of help to a Social Democratic regime in Budapest and deliberately permitted the dictator Horthy to seize power. Russia was relatively weak then, but still the West didn't want to take any chances with left-wing democracy. Instead it chose fascism.

Ernest Bevin: a Dramatic Criticism

BY BENN W. LEVY

London, June 6

It was in Margate last July, I walked upon the Pier
And met a little vulgar boy and said: "What make you here?

THIS week the couplet has been running in my head. The rest of Barham's poem I have forgotten, though once as a small boy I earned a pair of boxing gloves from my father by committing it to memory. (I have them still and look at them sometimes, a little wistful that they are now too small.) But I think the legend goes on to narrate how the Little Vulgar Boy, parading his righteousness and his unequal struggle against cruelty and injustice, exploited the narrator's innocence and duly "did him down." From which a gently cynical Victorian moral is drawn by way of epilogue.

It would be facile to identify the visiting politician with the astute urchin of the Ingoldsby Legend, but in so far as it is true that politicians are an especial kind of animal, their peculiar characteristics offered themselves for an examination of particularly concentrated clarity in the bright Kentish sunlight of the conference week.

The simpler folk of theaterland have in one respect a greater acumen, which would have made them a less susceptible audience at Margate than the politicians provided for each other. The actor who seeks his effects with clichés and calculation or whose mechanics are easily penetrable, they describe as "ham": and they smell him from a distance without error or effort. Poor Ernie Bevin would have had them giggling politely in their handkerchiefs. The "star" entrance, solo, delayed until the third day; the preliminary build-up while he is still "off"; the on-flood of arc lights withheld during the foregoing sessions (this particular effect has discreetly obsolesced since Benson's day); the grave unsmiling majesty of countenance; and then the role itself!

It is a fine variegated role. Sometimes, perhaps most often, he is the wounded bull, wounded but bravely fighting on, struck down by villainous foreign hands

BENN W. LEVY is a well-known dramatist and a Labor member of Parliament. "Art and Mrs. Bottle," "Topaze," and "Springtime for Henry" are among his most successful plays.

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when success was just within grasp (foreigners are people who have never been trade-union officials). Sometimes he is the quiet confidential chum. "Well, really you know . . ." is the familiar opening of these passages. Sometimes he is the patient Atlas, reluctantly but dutifully carrying the world of foreign affairs upon his back when, if the truth were known, he would have much preferred, after the General Election, to have retired into the tranquillity of private life as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

But whatever the role, it is always rich with "character." An important point this, as any experienced actor will confirm. The "straight" part starts at a heavy disadvantage. Squire Hawkins can never compete with Long John Silver. No actor who knows his world would accept a two-legged in preference to a one-legged part. Irving's defective palate was an asset. So have been Churchill's lisp and comical hats. Baldwin strove to illustrate himself with pigs and pipes and Mary Webb. Bottomley rose in an aura of patriotism, champagne, and militant affection for clergymen, widows, and race horses. Joe Chamberlain marked himself with orchids and monocle. Dizzy and Palmerston paraded a whole battery of extravagant "properties." Jim Thomas is alleged to have been sedulous in the dropping of his aitches. Since him, few trade-union politicians have realized that a proletarian diction may sometimes be accepted as the assurance of, if not, even, a substitute for, socialism. Bevin is one of those few. This and a silhouette as globular as Bottomley's are not the least of his tremendous capital equipment.

Let there, however, be no mistake: these valuable things are adjuncts, not essence. Bevin is a "star" in his own right. Merely to know the tricks of the trade is not enough. Talent is not enough. The quality of a star still awaits definition, but it is the quality that makes an audience attentive while Mistinguette walks down the long inevitable stairway of the Paris music-hall stage and inattentive while her prettier understudy does the same thing. Bevin could deputize for Mistinguette any night of the week, and no one would demand his money back.

Like other writers of fiction I have sometimes sought to depict a politician. We nearly always fail. With mothers-in-law and civil servants, he is a traditional music-hall, club, and public-house target, but the shafts fly with a simple jeer and without the need for elaboration imposed upon the writer. The music hall notes briefly the vanity, the histrionics, the platitudes, the evasions, the compromises, the self-righteousness, the exhibitionism, the *faux-bonhomie,* the bogus indignation. (For satire deals with the debit side only.) But the novelist or dramatist must not merely assert but illustrate these qualities—and a few others as well.

Sitting and listening at Margate to Ernest Bevin, a most capable politician in his most characteristic form, I wondered why that kind of thing was so hard to capture and distil into fiction. It is partly perhaps because the context is indispensable and rather too large and too complex to convey. Take for instance his *scène à faire,* the climactic "stab-in-the-back" passage. A casual observer would have seen merely a rotund little orator, shaking every ounce of his flesh in an abandoned passion of righteous indignation expressed in the clichés of routine melodrama. The true and magnificent virtuosity of this performance would have been missed. Anyone can be as angry as that upon due provocation, but how many of us could preserve the full flower of spontaneous fury in the ice-box for nine long months and trot it out at the right moment, with not a petal blemished, faded, or impaired? How many of us would have known so unerringly the right moment from the wrong? There were many earlier opportunities, but a sure political instinct passed them by. The skilled politician must know when to be angry, when to be confident, when to be hurt. He must know, moreover, which questions to answer and which questions to pretend to answer. The latter is a delicate operation. If he is able not merely to accomplish it but actually to score points with it, he is at the top of his tree. If I had been asked why our troops in Palestine and Germany could not be reduced and I had replied in effect, as Bevin did, that we had successfully moved thousands of troops in Egypt from one barracks to another without the loss of a single British soldier, I should have met with precisely the derision I should have expected. He, on the other hand, evoked precisely the outbreak of applause that he expected. Not more than a dozen of his audience smiled. Even his critics relaxed in warm admiration of such virtuosity. Here was a master of his trade.

Now it is over-simple to be morally censorious of all this. When you have noted that the thunder of his rage is only the tin thunder of a stage effect, that the bull moves with the wary premeditated watchfulness of a cat and the quickness of an eel, that the air of bluntness is a brilliant bluff, it is as well to remember that not only absolutism corrupts; so do the exigencies of democratic politics. If you are protected by a prophylactic simplicity like Rhys Davies or old George Lansbury or by a religious probity like Stafford Cripps, your course will be subject to the same limitations as theirs. You can be savaged and demolished as Lansbury was savaged by Bevin ten years ago. You can lose your popular acclaim, as Cripps has, through a Jeremiacal truthfulness. It is therefore fairer to ask whether the disingenuousness of the accomplished politician is redeemed by an ultimate fidelity to basic principle. The answer, one way or another, to this question will provide the final judgment on Ernest Bevin.

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Revolution in Eastern Europe

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

I. The People and the Communists

Vienna, June 1

IN A few months it will be three years since the Red Army, driving the Wehrmacht before it, started its triumphant march into Eastern Europe and the heart of the Continent. Three years is not a very long time in the history of the region, but the tempo of change has been greatly accelerated, and out of the events and developments of this period a new Eastern Europe is evolving, and making a desperate effort to catch up with the world.

It is possible to generalize about Eastern Europe only if honesty and fairness are sacrificed. Austria and Czechoslovakia are exceptions to any generalization about the political scene. The non-Slav states, Hungary and Rumania, with their peculiar economic backgrounds, are exceptions to the prevailing economic situation. Poland and Yugoslavia may appear to be under very similar regimes, but basic differences exist.

Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia are all within the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. All have had revolutions. In both respects Austria will eventually have to be classed with them.

The revolution is not, of course, over, and it varies in form and fabric from country to country. Only Poland and Yugoslavia had a revolution in the classic sense, and this explains much of what has happened in those countries since the end of the war—just as post-war developments in the other countries are explained by the fact that their revolutions were brought about by the entrance of the Red Army.

Russia cannot be held wholly responsible for the revolution in Eastern Europe, which has nowhere gone exactly as Moscow would have liked. Whether it came from "above" or "below," the revolution was inevitable: the rotten political, economic, and social conditions could not survive the ferment of war and resistance. But one must give credit to the Soviet Union for guaranteeing the first phase of the revolution and saving it from being smothered in its cradle by Western-supported counter-revolutionary forces, as happened after the last war.

Obviously, neither the direction nor the method of the revolution has pleased the West. The still-born revolt of 1917-25 might have taken a "democratic" form which the West could have approved. But not this revolution. The difference between Western and Eastern democracy, on which we insist, is reflected in the difference between a Western and an Eastern revolution.

The present revolution was born of the collapse of German imperialism, native feudalism, and fascist oppression, amid physical devastation, economic ruin, and human misery. The fatuous, selfish, do-nothing nationalist regimes of the past have been replaced by governments whose leaders not only understand the social problems of their countries but have the ability and will to do something about them.

This revolution will not stop or recede. The youth of Eastern Europe is behind it. By their prodigious efforts in the past two years the workers have proved their devotion to it. The former landless peasants have a stake in it.

Admittedly not all the people are in favor of the new regimes. The old ruling classes, the old army castes, the professional politicians of the past don't count. But there are many others for whom the turn-about was too sudden. The gap between feudalism and socialism is a very wide one. Many people still do not understand the causes of their present difficulties. Nazi oppression in Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania was so carefully executed that large sections of the population never learned what it meant. Class distinctions were so savagely beaten into the submerged masses for so many centuries that some of them are still afraid to walk with their heads up.

In time these attitudes will change. Peasants here and there, in Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary, assail the regime but at the same time admit that its policies may improve agriculture. Old men object to new ways but with childlike enthusiasm crowd into the little schoolhouses and churches to benefit from the anti-illiteracy campaigns. Peasants in remote parts of Hungary who never dreamed of going to school watch with pleasure as the school comes to their children. Balkan women voting for the first time show they are acutely conscious of beginning a new life. People who never before in their lives could benefit from clinics and nurseries or

CONSTANTINE POULOS, Balkan correspondent of the Overseas News Agency, has spent the last eighteen months traveling through Eastern Europe by jeep. He is probably the only American correspondent who has visited every country east of the Trieste-Stettin line. This is the first of several articles on the general political picture.

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enjoy sports clubs and canteens are increasingly willing to stand by the new governments.

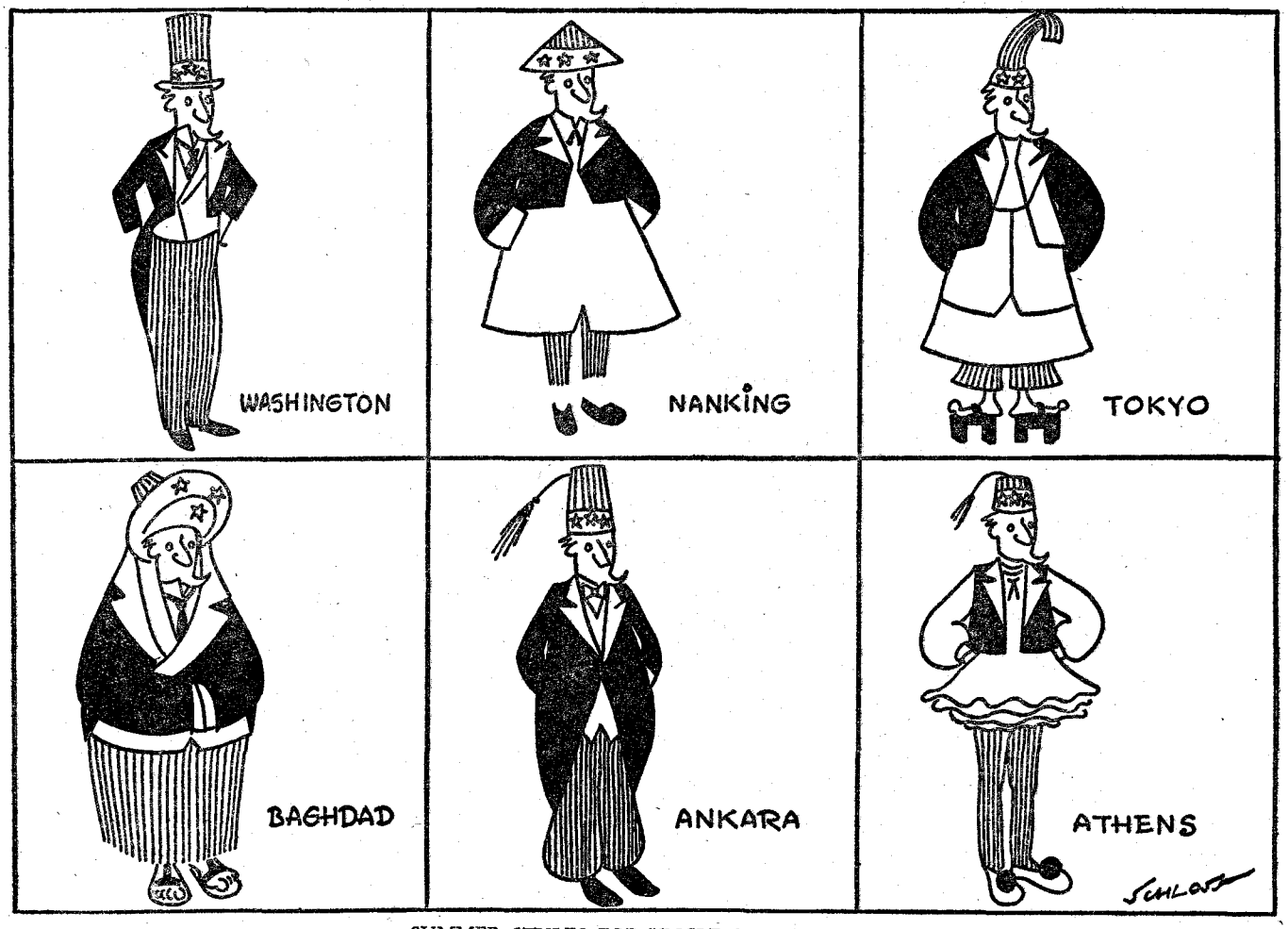
Contrary to the widespread belief in the West, the people of Eastern Europe are not as concerned about political freedom as they are about economic security. That civil liberties are meaningless without economic security is a simple truism whose force is appreciated by the most backward worker or peasant. It would have been nice if, after the war, political and economic democracy could have been established simultaneously in Eastern Europe. But given the historical and sociological background of these countries, how could that have been done?

Parliamentary democracy is based on compromises between social classes and political parties. But the peoples of Eastern Europe at the end of the war were in no mood for compromise, and they had no long tradition of political cooperation to fall back on. The governments today are following patterns of political behavior which go back many decades.

The present tremendous economic and political upheaval in Eastern Europe is either ignored in the West or vilified as a Russo-Communist creation—which, strangely enough, the Russians and the Communists claim it to be. But it cannot be judged by Western standards or interpreted according to Dun and Bradstreet or Time, Inc.

Men who are working with the Russians and the Communists today because to do otherwise would be to lay out the carpet for the old order—the Socialists, radical peasants, independent leftists, and intellectuals who helped make the revolution—feel that the Communists have proved themselves able leaders, fully aware of the needs of the people. They give the Communists most of the credit for the phenomenal revival of industry and agriculture, despite three successive years of drought, in all these countries except Austria. On the other hand, it is they and not the men sitting outside, complaining, plotting, and running to the American and British embassies, who best know the mistakes and the weaknesses of the Communists. They have no illusions about the Communists or the Russians. They recognize and accept the Communists for what they are.

Except in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia the Communists have been in a tough spot. They have had to be the official apologists of the Soviet Union and all its policies. The exigencies of power politics have forced them into strange contortions—which they never seem to find painful: they have been obliged to embrace collaborators, to appease, to vacillate, to find scapegoats when things go badly. Like devout, dogmatic, cunning Jesuits, they believe in the righteousness of their cause and that all means to attain their goal are blessed and justified. In



SUMMER STYLES FOR UNCLE SAM (1947)

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some countries they have been reluctant to assume power alone; yet by their very training and mentality they are "ill-fitted" to work in coalition governments. They become frightened and hysterical when unbelievers present programs or solutions which are better than theirs. This partly accounts for their dishonest efforts to make "fascism" and "reaction" synonymous, and for their unsuccessful attempts to monopolize the progressive socialist spirit of the workers. Try as they may, they cannot control the revolution. While many conditions are similar, Eastern Europe today is not Russia in 1917.

Not the least of the reasons why the revolution in Eastern Europe cannot follow a "Russian" pattern is the Soviet Union itself. It was to the interest of the Soviet Union that the power of the old ruling classes and the social order on which that power was based should be destroyed. But after the revolution passed through that first phase, the Soviet Union did little to help it—indeed, it has hampered it. Russia's relations with the countries of Eastern Europe since that time have been guided by the same cynical selfishness which is apparent in its relations with the big powers and which reveals its continuous sense of insecurity.

Not only has the revolution been hindered, but two years of wasteful requisitioning by the Red Army, undisciplined behavior by Russian soldiers, and ruthless economic exploitation have aroused a popular revulsion which has enabled the professional Russophobes and the old ruling classes to steady themselves. By protecting and preserving the first phase of the revolution, the Soviet Union automatically assured the execution of far-reaching reforms. But then its economic pressure and its removal of food, livestock, poultry, finished goods, and machinery prevented the new governments from extending their economic reforms and delayed the realization of their social aims.

The new regimes—including the Communist members, although the latter seldom speak about it—know that Russia's ruthless tactics have set them back many years. And thus another vicious circle is formed. The more the governments, which feel they have not been given a real chance to show what they can do, sense a wave of feeling against them the more reluctant are they to allow political freedom to the opposition. The Russians, aware of the same revulsion, hesitate to loosen their grip for fear that violently hostile governments will again be lined up on their borders.

The existing governments are really Russia's best friends. But Russian policies consistently serve to weaken them. It is the old story of the defenses, by their very nature, destroying what they were designed to preserve.

To protect and extend the revolution, the governments of Eastern Europe are looking more and more to one another, and in this lies the hope for the future.

The Dionne Centuplets

BY JANE ARMSTRONG

Toronto, June 10

THE adventures of Mr. Ludger Dionne with his hundred Slav girls have given Canadians one of the liveliest issues into which the press and Parliament have sunk their teeth for some time. Although the country has diddled along for two years without adopting a positive post-war immigration policy, the news that Mr. Dionne was roaming the D. P. camps of Germany recruiting girls for his rayon spinning mill at St. Georges de Beauce, Quebec, brought prompt reaction. Canadians might not be decided on what to do about Europe's refugees, but their minds were clear on what *not* to do. In newspaper reports with screaming headlines and in a fierce debate in the House of Commons severe censure was expressed for Mr. Dionne's method of rescuing Europe's homeless—and for the Liberal government that had secretly aided his scheme.

JANE ARMSTRONG is a Canadian journalist.

The details squeezed from reluctant Liberals by Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and Progressive Conservative members of the opposition combined into a curious story. Ludger Dionne, who is also a Liberal member of Parliament for Beauce, determined last fall to relieve the chronic labor shortage in his spinning mill, where he employed some 400 French Canadians in a non-union shop and the turnover last year added up to 550. He suggested first to the Department of Labor and then to the Department of Welfare that he be given special permission to import indentured women from displaced persons' camps. Both departments turned down his request. But the mill was running at only one-third capacity, and Mr. Dionne tried again. This time he interviewed the Honorable James A. Glen, who as Minister of Mines and Resources also handled immigration matters, and the government, on Mr. Glen's recommendation, passed an order-in-council on April 1 permitting importation of 100 girls from Europe. Mr. Dionne at once took a plane for Germany.

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Parliament was then in session, and immigration was on the order paper. By some curious coincidence this particular order-in-council was not tabled, and when late in April a press leak started C. C. F. members sniffing suspiciously, Mr. Glen replied evasively that any "new policy" on immigration would be announced in "due course."

By the first week in May enough details had trickled out to send the public's blood pressure soaring. When trade unions heard of the contract terms Mr. Dionne was planning to impose on his new hands, they promptly denounced him as an exploiter of slave labor. The C. C. F. and Progressive Conservative members—unaccustomed bedfellows—joined forces to lambast the government. Mr. Dionne's plan, as outlined in a letter to Mr. Glen, was simple. The girls were to sign a contract to work in St. Georges for two years. They were to be billeted in the nearby convent under the chaperonage of forty nuns of the Good Shepherd. Twenty-five per cent of their weekly wages was to be deducted to repay their transportation to Canada. (In his haste Mr. Dionne spared no expense, chartering three transatlantic planes especially for them.) They were to start work at 26 cents an hour for a forty-six-hour week, with a boost to 30 cents after the first month. Later they were to go on piece work along with the other girls in the mill. Six dollars would be deducted from their pay envelopes for board at the convent. Since Quebec's wage standards are notoriously low, it was the clauses covering indentured labor and deductions for transportation that drew the most fire—Canada has an Alien Immigration Act supposed to outlaw both these abuses.

As public feeling mounted, Mr. Dionne's jaunt to Germany was discussed from one end of the country to the other. Interest was fanned by bulletins from his headquarters in Frankfurt. The girls—Polish, Ukrainian, and Yugoslav—were selected by Polish priests supervised by representatives of the United States Roman Catholic welfare agency and the Vatican Mission. These agencies, said Mr. Dionne, were anxious to have the girls emigrate rather than "be forced back under Joseph Stalin's philosophies." They were all Roman Catholics, and though this would appear sensible considering their destination, the religious issue is a dangerous one in Canada, where French Canadians block immigration of Anglo-Saxon Protestants, English Canadians try to keep out European Catholics, and both are opposed to Jews.

Last week Mr. Dionne's fleet of airplanes brought the final group of girls to their new homeland. Canadians studying their photographs in the newspapers could not help noticing that the shrewd little mill owner, who claimed to be snatching humanity from the misery of a concentration camp, had assembled a surprisingly healthy-looking team. They were young—from sixteen to twenty-seven years old—and their powerful physiques would obviously stand up under work in a spinning mill.

The matter was not to rest there. Coinciding with the labor influx at St. Georges came an announcement by Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labor, that officials of three big pulp-and-paper companies were already in Europe recruiting 1,400 men between the ages of twenty and forty for work in the northern Ontario lumber camps. The companies guaranteed ten months' employment at prevailing wages. Although the arrangement was similar to the Dionne case, the government, perhaps forewarned, altered conditions slightly by assuming the role of overseer and having Canadian immigration officials help in the selection. On the heels of this came still another announcement that an agreement had been completed among the government, the needle-trades unions, and the garment manufacturers to bring in at least 1,000 skilled needle workers.

It appeared then that a broad, government-sponsored immigration plan was breaking up into piecemeal negotiations. M. J. Coldwell, leader of the C. C. F., rose from his seat in the House of Commons one afternoon last week and asked for an explanation. He demanded a full discussion of government policy in allowing Canadian industrialists to bring specially selected displaced persons to work in Canada under contract.

There had been fair warning of Mr. Coldwell's intentions, but the Liberals put up a weak defense. In no time the debate skidded on the issue of whether Mr. Dionne was a humanitarian or a heel. Mr. Mitchell, the Labor Minister, thought the member for Beauce—too busy mothering his new brood to be present—should be "given his day in court" to explain things; Mr. Mitchell himself, he confessed, did not know the exact terms of the contract. The Labor Minister was followed by Clarence Decatur Howe, who was acting as Immigration Minister for Mr. Glen, also absent from the House that afternoon. Mr. Howe had not seen the contract either, but he maintained that there was nothing extraordinary in the much-talked-of clause which required the mill girls to repay their transatlantic fares out of their wages.

C. C. F. and Progressive Conservative members then unloosed a barrage, for it had been established that the only information the Liberals had about the terms of Mr. Dionne's private immigration scheme was contained in the letter from the mill owner to Mr. Glen. In that letter Mr. Dionne definitely set down his intention of getting a full return on his investment. The opposition pressed this advantage, and only the recess for dinner saved the Liberals from being shoved to the wall. In the evening the fracas was continued, but help arrived in the nick of time. Before an amazed House Mr. Howe waved a piece of white paper and announced he had Mr. Dionne's contract right in his hand. Where it came from no one knew, but it contained a clause stipulating that

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no deductions for transatlantic fares should be made from the wages of the workers.

The bizarre situation, however, was not ended. The so-called contract turned out to be an agreement made in London, England, between Mr. Dionne and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Whether it took precedence over the terms accepted by the government in Ottawa was questioned sharply by John G. Diefenbaker, a Progressive Conservative. Scathingly he said that the overseas contract was a very weak straw for the government to lean on, since it reversed the terms of the scheme as originally approved.

The next day Canadians savored the reverberations of the debate but wondered what it had accomplished. Mr. Dionne's Slav battalion is certainly here to stay. Some thought the government might be prodded into launching a broad immigration policy; others were afraid the C. C. F. attack might be used by the Liberals as an excuse for doing nothing about Europe's stateless persons.

A week later the country had a partial answer. Mr. Howe unexpectedly tabled a new order-in-council authorizing the entry of a first batch of 5,000 immigrants on the quota system. The government has assumed responsibility for their selection and transportation, although the cost is being paid by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Employers still may go to Europe to help pick their workers, but the Immigration Department has the final say. Any D. P. suitable for employment in an industry where labor is short can be admitted. All contracts between employers and workers must be approved by the Labor Department.

It is not a daring or sweeping immigration plan, but it gives reassurance on one point. No more secret or special permits will be handed out to private employers; the movement of immigrants to Canada will be in the open. That was the purpose of last week's debate in the Commons, and Canadians can congratulate themselves that the point was established.

Naval Misrule in the Pacific

BY JOHN COLLIER

SHALL the peoples of Guam, American Samoa, and a hundred islands of Micronesia be granted civil rights? Or shall the United States navy continue to rule them by lawless absolutism, as it has ruled Samoa and Guam for forty-eight years, since 1899? The question and the necessary facts for a decision are squarely before Congress now, in spite of the somewhat oblique resistance of the White House, the Cabinet, and the admirals. Hearings by the House subcommittee on territories and islands of the Public Lands Committee have lifted the lid.

A witness before the committee remarked, "If my testimony sounds extreme, it will be because the facts are extreme." Indeed, the facts are so extreme that the American mind has refused to take them in; this circumstance, together with the extreme persistence of the navy's lobby, has for nearly fifty years defeated the Islanders in their struggle for elementary rights. It may yet defeat them through the next fifty years.

The 13,000 inhabitants of American Samoa and the 23,000 inhabitants of Guam are ruled by a naval officer who is changed on the average every eighteen months. He makes the laws, executes them, and sits as the court of last resort in all cases, civil or criminal. The result is not merely a theoretical denial of all civil rights; it is a complete practical denial of them. It is also inefficiency of fantastic dimensions with accompanying financial extravagance, as is only now fully known.

For brevity, I limit my examples of naval misrule to Guam. And I draw mainly upon a report by a civilian committee sent by the navy itself to Guam and the other islands—a committee whose chairman was Dr. Ernest M. Hopkins, president emeritus of Dartmouth College. Most of my facts were supplied by that committee; the others have been given repeated public statement, are fully documented, and have never been disproved or even denied.

The Chamorros of Guam, now called Guamanians, are a rather extraordinary people. In the seventeenth century they resisted Spain in a thirty-year religious war which cut down their number from perhaps 50,000 to 3,000. The surviving remnant embraced Catholicism and became full citizens of Spain. Across long periods Filipinos who resisted land feudalism and debt peonage were exiled to Guam; their blood and their modes of thought entered the Guamanian stream. Today the bilingual or tri-lingual Guamanians—Chamorro and Spanish, Chamorro and English—are known to many Americans, especially ex-service men, as people of high sophistication, versatility, beauty, and charm.

Autocratic rule over the Guamanians, said the navy in the decades before Pearl Harbor, was necessary for

JOHN COLLIER, formerly director of the Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior, is now president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs.

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security reasons. The security was fantasy, and the navy knew it: Guam fell to Japan in twenty-four hours.

The Guamanians resisted the conquerors. Some hundreds—the exact number is not yet known—were shot, beheaded, or tortured to death for loyalty to the United States. Congress authorized compensation to the Guamanians for war damage but was persuaded to make the navy the court of claims. The Hopkins committee's report shows that at the present rate of settlement by the navy the claims will not be disposed of in less than twenty years; and it describes the awards which the leisurely navy does make as "in many cases mere pittances." To give an example, Claim No. 21, as adjudicated by the navy, is quoted verbatim: "Maria Rosa Crisostimore, Sinajana Village, Guam. On September 12, 1944, during the United States reoccupation, the claimant's husband died as a result of a beating inflicted by the Japanese. Amount claimed $5,000; amount allowed, $665.10."

When the United States attacked Guam, the capital city, Agana, home of half the island's people, was blasted to rubble, and other towns were similarly wrecked. The reoccupation forces took for their own use two-thirds of the island's land area, including most of the farmland. Congress appropriated $6,000,000 for rehabilitation. The Hopkins committee found that after two and a half years none of the destroyed towns were ready for occupancy and that there was no clear indication of when they would be. Meanwhile the navy forbids the Guamanians to reenter their towns or to use any of the seized land, even for gardening purposes; it has paid them neither rental for the properties taken over nor their capital value.

The navy operates the only bank on Guam, and this bank refuses to accept any claim or fraction of a claim as loan collateral. But under the existing conditions most Guamanians have nothing to offer as collateral except their claims.

Large construction work is proceeding on Guam, through contract with mainland and Hawaiian contractors. These contractors pay good wages. But by published and enforced order of the naval governor they may not hire local labor for the work. Thus the Guamanians, shut out from their farmlands and towns, with their savings destroyed, their claims unpaid, and credit denied them, can work only for the navy and in the domestic and other servicing of the naval and other white personnel. Moreover, the navy fixes their wages—at less than one-fourth the amount paid to whites for identical skills on identical jobs. At the same time the Guamanians pay a flat 10 per cent sales tax, levied by the governor, and living costs exceed mainland costs. It is impossible, the Hopkins committee states, for Guamanians to subsist on the navy-decreed wage. They are doing forced labor at a starvation wage. In effect, the navy is maintaining the *repartimiento* system of forced labor at depressed wages which was the disgrace of Spain in the New World and which depopulated Mexico and the Andean highlands. On Guam Spain never introduced the *repartimiento*.

In the Hopkins committee's report a curious schizophrenia may be noticed—not a conscious irony, for the committee displays no sense of humor. The facts of the report and its over-all recommendations are in head-on collision. Take, for example, the matter of war-damage claims. The committee found, and describes with much detail, extreme inefficiency and stupidity and outright institutional dishonesty, but it recommends that the navy shall continue to rule the Guamanians for an indefinite period and cites the handling of war-damage claims—and of rehabilitation, which, though six million dollars is in hand for the purpose, simply does not move at all—as a controlling reason for the recommendation. Unable to deny or explain the facts, the navy, at the current House hearings, has nevertheless used the same argument.

One more example: the Hopkins committee recommends continued naval rule because, it says, any other rule would cost much more money. Then it gives the cost of Guam naval government, exclusive of rehabilitation costs, compensation for properties taken, and payment of war-damage claims. A breakdown of the figures shows the cost of government to be $88 per capita per year. The committee sets up no comparisons, but they are available. For Alaska the per capita cost is $55; for Puerto Rico, including its land program and its large research program, $25; for Western Samoa, whose health record shines beside that of Guam, $14; for New York State, $54.95; for the all-embracing United States Indian Service, including its costly boarding schools and its large reclamation, forestry, and soil-conservation operations, $75.

Until the present the navy has resisted the demand for citizenship and for statutory underwriting of civil liberties, and its views have always prevailed in one or the other house of Congress. Now it has capitulated on these two issues, at least so far as the public record goes. The remaining issue, and for Guam the decisive one, is that of administrative jurisdiction.

Naval administration, as a matter of policy, is totalitarian. Its control of the economic life of the Islanders is a boundless control. Anti-democratic administration and economic totalitarianism are not an environment in which self-rule can grow. Nor will citizenship and organic acts guaranteeing civil liberties for the Islanders change the navy from what it institutionally is—rank-dominated, authoritarian, and thing-minded, not man-minded. Jurisdiction over the Islanders should go to the Interior Department at once; later, perhaps, to some new independent civilian agency charged with the affairs of all territories and dependencies.

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The present House hearings center in the Poulson bill (H. R. 2753) and the Grant bill (H. R. 3044). Both are good bills, the Poulson bill being the simpler of the two and limited to Guam; if it passes, equivalent enactments for American Samoa and Micronesia will follow more or less automatically. But the writing of organic acts for the Polynesians of American Samoa and the many native groups of Micronesia calls for much knowledge and caution; these peoples should in fact draft their own organic acts, with advice and help as needed, as was contemplated in the Biemiller bill (H. R. 6585), which died in the last Congress and was not reintroduced in the present one.

Now is a time of hope for the Islanders; in tortured Guam it is a time of desperate hope. Action on the bills should be pressed, for one or two years hence, when public attention has been dulled, inertia and the navy's lobby might blot out the Islanders' chance.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

VI. King Cotton Strikes Again

Memphis, Tennessee

THIS is the historic capital of the Delta country, the center for the cotton planters of the Deep South. Here cotton is king. Cotton has been ruler of the South's destiny for a long time. It has become the legend and the symbol of the South. But its sway has been ruthless, and it is about to strike again.

Every year thousands of persons make a pilgrimage to Natchez, Mississippi, south of Memphis, to see the beautiful homes once occupied by the owners of the great cotton plantations. People who have never lived in the South like to step back into that old setting. Standing in the gardens where camelias, azaleas, magnolias, and roses bloom, and looking through the waving fingers of Spanish moss at the gracious verandas of the colonial mansions, they are reminded of a serene and gay world, full of ease and elegance, where colonels sipped mint juleps on the porch while Negroes sang in the fields.

The big houses that stand in Natchez were built on the riches created long ago by cotton. Cluttered around them, therefore, are little one-room, unpainted, windowless shacks where the slaves lived who made the big houses possible. These shacks are still lived in by the people who have worked so hard and been paid so little ever since that day in 1793 when the cotton gin was invented.

Before the invention of the gin the preparation of cotton for spinning was such a long and arduous process that cotton was not a profitable crop. The coming of the gin brought fabulous wealth to the owners of plantations and slaves. Every square inch of land where cotton would grow was given over to the white blossoms. The luxury of the plantation owners became legendary, while the rest of the South's people sank deeper into poverty. The books call this exclusive growing of cotton "the one-crop system"—a colorless name for a custom which has kept a whole section of the country in a state of semi-starvation for a century and a half.

Cotton is a crop which exhausts the soil very quickly. A hundred and fifty years of cotton growing have ruined 61 per cent of the land in the South. Cotton culture also demands a great number of workers, and the need for this cheap labor fixed slavery on the South. After the Civil War a substitute for slave labor was found in the South's unique class of serfs—the share-croppers and tenant farmers.

The big cotton grower no longer owns slaves but he still owns the land. He divides it into small tracts and places on each a family which will devote its whole time to cotton. The tenant is often not even allowed to grow vegetables. Big families are wanted, for the more hands the better when it comes to chopping or picking cotton. Tools, food, and clothing are advanced by the plantation owner at interest rates which range from 10 to 29 per cent, according to a report on nine Southern counties by Professor Forester of North Carolina State College. The share-cropper or tenant may pay half the proceeds of the crop for the use of the land. From the remainder he repays the sums advanced for necessities and the exorbitant interest charges. He is never out of debt; he ruins his health and the land trying to make ends meet; and he sees his family grow up handicapped by undernourishment and ignorance.

A few figures will show what the rule of cotton has meant. During the years 1940-44 Mississippi was fortunate; its income went up 157 per cent—to $519 a person. But this must be compared with New York's

A. G. MEZERIK is the author of "The Revolt of the South and West." The next article in his series on the Southern states will discuss the current progressive trend in Kentucky.

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average income of $1,600, or with the $1,200 necessary for a good living standard. In the boom year of 1942 the average resident of Mississippi spent $2.10 for furniture; the figure for the whole South was only $4.30. Bathrooms, the barometer of comfort in America, are found in only fifteen of every hundred homes. As far as the share-cropper is concerned, the state's present mild prosperity is largely statistical, for the wages of factory workers account for the major part of the per capita income increase—a fact not unrelated to the present C. I. O. organizing campaign. In Natchez the C. I. O. has recruited 2,000 workers, a sizable proportion of the 16,000 residents, but it has not been very successful with the share-croppers, tenants, and field workers of the cotton plantations. These form a huge group. More than 50 per cent of all the land in the South is farmed by tenants and share-croppers. In the Delta country below Memphis the percentage rises to a startling 80. Nearly 2,000,000 Southern families are caught in the web of tenant-farming and share-cropping, and more than two-thirds of them are white. Cotton is behind the dirt and degeneracy of "Tobacco Road" just as it was behind the gracious living portrayed in "Gone with the Wind."

The South's shiftlessness is not due to the hot Southern sun but to pellagra and malaria—2,000,000 Southerners suffer from malaria each year. If more than half of the farm homes are unpainted, it is because paint costs money. If the people are unwashed, it is because only one house in twenty has running water. And if the spoken language sometimes sounds like a comic strip, it may be because the South has only sixteen cents of every dollar spent in the United States for schools, while it has one-third of all the children. New York spends ten times as much as Mississippi does on each classroom.

It is only too true that the cotton states have not had the desire to do much for their citizens, but it must be recognized that they cannot afford to do what is required. Mississippi, at the bottom of the national ladder in education and so much else, spends 3.41 per cent of its income on education. New York spends only 2.6 per cent —but what a difference in income, and what an argument for federal aid on a basis of need! One of every four Southerners has never gone beyond the fifth grade, and in Mississippi forty-five of every hundred children are not enrolled in any school.

The crippled cotton lands inevitably breed ignorance and racial antagonism, chain gangs, lunatic politicians, and lynchings. The need for action is urgent, for King Cotton is about to strike again, and this time not against the South alone but against the whole country. The new mechanical cotton picker, the experts say, will push from five to eight million people off the land. This year one company, the International Harvester, will put out 1,500 cotton pickers. Anderson, Clayton and Company, the world's most important cotton firm, reports that the cost of picking a bale of cotton by machine is only $5.26, as against $39.41 by hand. A one-row machine picker can do the work of fifty people, and a double-row picker can do the work of a hundred. As these machines come into general use in the next few years millions of Southerners will become "displaced persons."

See what will happen as they take to the highways and crowd into Northern and Western towns seeking homes and jobs. Illiterate or semi-literate, warped by poverty and ignorance, they will drag down the level of citizenship wherever they go. The Bilbos and the Rankins of the whole country will find new opportunities among them. The K. K. K. and the Columbians will be brought into the North and West.

Mechanization will ultimately benefit the plantations of the South. The cost of production will be lowered, and the comparative few who work the land may get more income. Certainly the big planters, the 10 per cent who now own 90 per cent of all cotton production, will vastly increase their profits. But a great number of field workers will lose their livelihood, and as human beings they are the first consideration.

For them the most realistic solution would be industrialization, but not many monopolists will build factories in the South to remedy social conditions. A few of the South's rich men, are seeking this way out, notably a group in Alabama who have taken over a war plant and will manufacture paper pulp. Resettlement offers another solution for the problem of the American D. P.'s, and there has been some national thinking along this line. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture has a program for converting much of the South's eroded and exhausted cotton land into dairy farms, truck gardens, and pasture for livestock. This would be a carefully planned shift, financed by the federal government. But Congress shows no more interest in the bureau's program than in various other proposals, one of which calls for the creation of ten-family cooperatives to farm five-hundred-acre units with modern machinery.

Southern landlords evidence even less anxiety about the plight of their fellow-citizens than does Congress and are proceeding with their mechanization plans regardless of the human consequences. Ed Crump, undisputed political boss of the cotton-growing Delta, is more concerned with maintaining his alliances with the region's Northern and Southern economic chiefs than with bettering the lot of his lowly subjects.

It is obvious that the old order will not act in time. New forces, North, South, East, and West, must take up the task. Educators, the awakened people of the neighboring Tennessee Valley, younger business men, the revitalized church—all these groups, and with them the growing C. I. O., have this tremendous job to do. But they cannot do it alone; the whole nation must help.

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Letter from Rome

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, May 25

THE political situation in Italy is becoming tremendously important. What is now happening here is bound to have great influence on the whole balance of power in the Mediterranean. According to persistent rumors, the Allies are building up their military strength in Italy and not giving a thought to leaving the country. Wanting to see for myself how much truth there was in these rumors, I made a week-long trip through central Italy. In Florence I discovered that the whole Cascine section is being requisitioned to accommodate 150,000 American soldiers. In Leghorn the Americans seem to be unloading war material day and night. On the Adriatic coast, near Rimini, British troops supported by Polish units and German prisoners of war are ruling the countryside. I was astonished to see how splendidly British, rightist Poles, and Germans were getting along together. The Germans go about town quite freely, driving their own cars, and are as arrogant as if they had won the war.

The continued presence of Allied troops two years after V-E Day is causing strong resentment. At first it was directed only against the British and Poles, but feeling is growing against the Americans. If Truman intends to apply in Italy the same policy as in Greece and Turkey, he is taking the wrong approach. The majority of the people feel that they have been betrayed by everyone, and care nothing about either Truman or Russia. They want only to get rid of the occupation troops and try to rebuild their country.

I visited Abruzzi, Tuscany, Marche, Latium, and Emilia and found the countryside green and tilled as of old. Villages that were razed to the ground by the German scorched-earth policy or Allied bombings have risen again. Hundreds of workers are keeping the roads in repair; many dynamited bridges have been replaced by temporary ones.

I spoke with farmers and artisans and inquired about their plans for the future. Most of them replied that they gave little thought to the future because a war would come in a few weeks or months, and so why bother?

Italians don't feel free. They know that powerful foreign forces are trying to shape their future. The Pope cannot reconcile himself to the thought of having his seat in a leftist country. And it is quite evident that the Americans are trying to help him in his plans to avert a leftist victory. It is significant that the government crisis began so shortly after Tarchiani's visit to Rome; there are speculations that he brought word that American help is conditional on the formation of a more rightist Cabinet.

De Gasperi was only too glad to resign in order to facilitate this task. Every time he is confronted with a major problem demanding immediate solution—as at the present moment the financial situation—he diverts the attention of the people from it by provoking a government crisis. Christian Democrats more directly under the influence of Catholic Action have for a long time clamored for a break with the Communists. The same insistent request has come from the right, which has pointed to Ramadier's example in France. But the most interesting figure in Italian politics today is still Togliatti. He is a magnificent speaker and astute political strategist, as the Sicilian elections have demonstrated. He overrules principles, but he knows what his party wants and how to get it.

Everything indicates that Italy will inevitably in the near future become the battleground of the controversial ideas of East and West if not of actual armed forces.

MARIO ROSSI is The Nation's *correspondent in Italy.*

In the Wind

HEREWITH THE WIND'S early summer breeze on the state of the arts and education in America. Most of this information is from California, where recently Katy Hepburn went to bat against "abridgments of freedom" at a Wallace mass-meeting. In a free-swinging and crowd-pleasing speech she hit out at the Un-American Activities Committee, the people who ousted commentators Shirer and Kingdon, book-banners, bigots, and assorted witch-hunters.

MEANWHILE, AN OUTFIT known as the Native Sons of the Golden West has asked California and federal officials to outlaw the use of labor schools by G. I. students.

AND THE CALIFORNIA ART CLUB has criticized a recent Los Angeles art show in the following words: "Too many of the paintings emphasize the poverty and misery of people in America, and there is too much exploitation of ugliness. . . . We are used to having things of known beauty held up to the people. . . . [We cannot condone] expenditure of tax funds for the display of subversive propaganda inimical to our form of government."

"THE MERCHANT OF VENICE" has been taken off the list of required reading for high-school students in Haverhill, Massachusetts, at the request of a rabbi who says that "the character of Shylock is an exaggerated distortion of Jewish attitudes and conduct," and that the play causes Jewish students "much discomfort and self-consciousness."

JAMES T. KIRKLAND, a teacher at the Dwight Morrow High School in Englewood, New Jersey, is also proprietor of the Moss Lake Camp, "an exclusive camp for girls." In the school paper, the *Oracle,* Kirkland advertises that his camp is for "Christians only." The course he teaches at Dwight Morrow, by the way, is "Problems of Democracy."

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Del Vayo—France Is Not Finished

THE French railway strike is over, but the ominous problem that underlay this last demonstration of labor's restlessness continues to block the painful road to recovery. First of all, the strike further embittered those persons who are always more concerned with their personal routine than with anything else. To stand for hours and hours on a hot summer day in front of padlocked gates of railroad stations waiting to get home from one's daily work or to flee to the country over the week-end is not calculated to make the average Frenchman more friendly to organized labor. The railroad strike followed a millers' strike that had already left fourteen departments almost without bread and reduced the ration from 250 to 200 grams a day. It came after the threat of a gas and electric strike that precipitated a bitter controversy over the right of employees of a nationalized industry to force a shutdown in defiance of the state. It came when dozens of other minor strikes had either just been announced or miraculously averted. It came, in short, at a moment when to impatient Frenchmen the mere word *grève* (strike) seemed a personal affront.

But beyond all these subjective reactions the railroad strike had extremely damaging consequences for the nation as a whole. During the last two years France has made an impressive and moving effort of reconstruction. I went to France last year in February; when I left in August the situation had visibly improved. I witnessed the same progress this year, from January to April.

It is pathetic that after the great "battle of coal" and the strenuous production drive carried through by the workers of France those same workers should risk destroying the results of their own labors. But that is what a prolonged rail strike would have meant. It would have kept away from the pitheads in the departments of the North and the Pas-de-Calais thousands of miners from neighboring areas. The electrical strike would have paralyzed many branches of industrial production. Therefore it is understandable that from a national as well as a personal point of view many Frenchmen are becoming strongly anti-labor. It is, in fact, on this growing impatience that many extreme De Gaullists pin their hopes, believing that by early winter the mounting crisis will throw the people into the arms of the R. P. F. (Rassemblement du Peuple Français) and its leader. But to get angry is not to settle the crisis or to explain the cause of France's difficulties.

The simplest explanation would be of course to blame everything on the Communists. Thus Premier Ramadier has repeatedly insisted that behind the nation-wide wave of strikes are his former left-wing colleagues in the Cabinet. It is also true that up to the beginning of the year, as long as the Communists were in the government, the party line was opposed to walk-outs and in favor of a steady increase in production. But on the other hand we have the testimony of Jules Moch, also a Socialist and the Minister who heads the department directly involved in the action of the railway workers. Moch spoke of the "mysterious" manner in which the strike broke out without authorization of the union, and other comments in the Paris press underlined the almost casual start of the walk-out. Apart from possible political motives and maneuvers, there was undoubtedly truth in the comment of the union, after the strike began, that "the movement was due to the misery in the railwaymen's homes."

One must remember that even during the period when the Communists were "against work stoppages and for an increase in production" they added, "but with price controls exercised in the interest of the workers." They could not say anything else. I participated as fraternal delegate of the Spanish General Workers' Union in the big convention of the C. G. T. in Paris last year, and I heard people argue from the floor: "All right, but we are not going to remain with our arms folded while prices go to the sky." There were men there from the old syndicalist wing of the C. G. T. who told me: "These Communists go too far in asking us to starve for the glory of the state." Since then the cost of living in France has continued to rise.

It is tragic for a good Socialist like Ramadier to have to fight the workers to save the franc. He said very bluntly that should he grant all the railway workers were asking it would mean an increase of twenty to thirty billion francs and the danger of a runaway inflation. Perhaps the root of the evil lies in the halfway planning that characterizes the present economic policy of France.

For weeks past the French press has been engaged in a most serious and interesting discussion of the problem of *dirigisme* (planning). The right points out that the demonstrations in the big cities where the crowds shouted "Down with economic control!" "Enough of government interference!" prove that the country is fed up with planned economy. The left says people forget that *dirigisme* is in itself only a method and that it cannot work if it is not propelled by daring and constructive revolutionary initiative. Between them, Ramadier and Blum maintain faith in the possibility of harmonizing planning with freedom. It is a fascinating debate which I hope to discuss further on this page.

But the crisis of *dirigisme* or of *pseudo-dirigisme* and the tragic struggle of France to keep up production, halt inflation, and permit its people to live do not justify gloomy predictions about the future of France. In 1940 France was already pronounced dead—and it revived: in great part thanks to the wonderful French proletariat, which in that decisive hour was the heart of the Resistance, and which even now, in the midst of such distress and passion, has shown a great sense of responsibility. The railway workers kept their promise to maintain the distribution of food and in the end accepted Ramadier's proposal of a wage scale below their claims and still farther below their needs.

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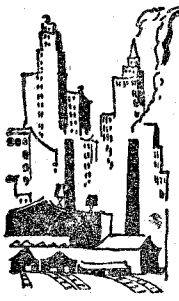

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Have We Enough Oil?

LAST week, writing about the opposition of the "independent" oil interests to the Anglo-American petroleum agreement, I mentioned their fear of foreign competition and their constant and vehement denials of any danger of an oil shortage in this country. Some of the Texas independent operators, for instance, have accused the government of a "malicious attitude" toward the domestic industry and have alleged that its "propaganda" about diminishing oil resources is designed to encourage foreign developments.

In considering this problem it is necessary to discuss separately its short-term and long-term aspects. In regard to the first, there is undeniably an immediate shortage of certain kinds of petroleum products, a shortage which is being met in part by a net import of oil into this country for the first time in history. In the last few days it has become known that both the army and the navy are concerned about their inability to procure oil for their needs. So seriously does the government regard the situation that Secretary of Interior Krug has summoned a special conference of Cabinet members and agency chiefs for June 17 to formulate plans to alleviate petroleum scarcities.

The current trouble has not arisen because of any falling off in crude production; that is being maintained at a peak figure of over five million barrels daily. The difficulty is that demand ever since V-J Day has been outstripping all estimates. When the end of the fighting cut back the services' tremendous need for oil, industry experts anticipated a sharp fall in total demand followed by a gradual climb back to the war-time peak, which they thought would be reached again in 1951. Well, we have passed that peak already and are still climbing. A spokesman for Standard Oil of New Jersey said recently that he expected demand to increase by 4.5 per cent over the next twelve months if there was a recession; if industrial activity held at its present level, the increase would be over 7 per cent.

There are a number of reasons for this tremendous demand. The public, released from gas rationing, has returned zestfully to the road, and old cars run fewer miles per gallon than new. There are more trucks in service than ever. The railroads are turning to oil-burning diesel-electric locomotives, and the use of this type of prime mover in other industries is expanding rapidly. In the ten years from 1935 to 1945 installed diesel horse-power jumped from 5,500,000 to 45,000,000.

Probably the most spectacular growth in demand has been in that for fuel oils. John L. Lewis encouraged both householders and industrialists to instal oil-burning furnaces, and he is now probably getting some grim satisfaction from the fact that it is going to be difficult to keep part of this equipment functioning next winter. The shortage seems to be especially acute in the case of the heavy residual oil used by industry. More efficient refining methods have increased recovery of gasoline and other light products and reduced the proportion of residuals. The shortage is to some extent being made up by imports, but since the scarcity of fuel oils is world wide, it is doubtful whether the current volume of shipments can be sustained.

However, the Independent Petroleum Association of America in a report issued June 10 claims that "there is no indication of an over-all shortage of oil." It admits "spot dislocations of supply and demand," which, it says, "are interpreted incorrectly as evidence of a real oil shortage. The need for new facilities—new wells, new pipe lines, and new refineries—continues to be the critical issue in the petroleum supply-and-demand outlook." The implication is that there is plenty of oil in the ground but that the means of processing it are inadequate. In part this is true, and the oil industry has a huge construction program which should eventually enable it to catch up with its refining, transport, and storage needs.

How far the sinking of new wells will lead to an increase in total production it is not easy to say at this time. Although drilling costs are high, present crude prices encourage active development. The industry's program for 1947 comprises 30,000 wells with a combined depth of 100,000,000 feet—nearly 19,000 miles. But will a sufficient proportion of these wells prove productive enough to maintain reserves unimpaired? Of course it is always possible that some vast new pool will be discovered, but with the continental United States pretty thoroughly surveyed, the chances get less each year. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, of the ninety-seven "wildcat" (exploratory) wells drilled in California in the first five months of this year, only four yielded oil. In the corresponding months of 1946 eleven out of eighty-one "wild cats" proved productive.

Last year, the American Petroleum Institute reports, proved reserves of crude oil increased by 2,658,062,000 barrels. Subtracting production during the year of 1,726,348,000 barrels, this made a net addition to reserves of 931,714,000 barrels. That would seem fairly satisfactory; yet the annual report of the Texas Corporation appraised the results of oil prospecting in 1946 as "very disappointing." Most of the increase in reported reserves, it pointed out, was due to revisions of previous estimates and extensions to known fields. Less than one-tenth of the total—the smallest amount in ten years—was added by the discovery of new pools. Moreover, reserves at the end of 1946 represented thirteen years' production as compared with fourteen years at the end of 1936.

These figures do not indicate that the United States is within measurable distance of exhausting its oil resources. But it may mean that it will not be possible to expand production much beyond its present limits. Yet it is clear that the trend of consumption is strongly upward and, barring a major depression, will remain so. A Standard Oil of New Jersey official recently estimated that domestic demand would rise by 1,100,000 barrels daily by 1951 while crude production increased less than 500,000 barrels. Unless his forecast is wildly inaccurate, a steady increase in imports will be essential to fill the gap.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Josephus Daniels: A Good Neighbor

SHIRT-SLEEVE DIPLOMAT. By Josephus Daniels. The University of North Carolina Press. $5.

MR. DANIELS'S book has unusual interest both for the United States and for Latin America. Written with good faith from the first to the last page, it will be read with pleasure by every American of good-will and with equal satisfaction by liberals of whatever nationality or language.

The case of Mr. Daniels is truly exemplary: to represent a militarily powerful country to a weak neighbor and in the performance to enhance the moral and intellectual prestige of the United States, and at the same time make every effort to understand Mexican life and Mexican attitudes, was not an easy task. Mr. Daniels not only accomplished this; he has now crowned his accomplishment by writing a clear and frank book about his experience, a book which expresses both his love for his own country and his keen interest in the people of Mexico. Mr. Daniels considers himself—as he repeatedly says—a shirt-sleeve diplomat. That is the sort of diplomat that the United States, and the world, urgently needs.

Mr. Daniels's assignment to Mexico had a special significance by reason of a historical incident in which he had been one of the principal actors. As we all know, it was Mr. Daniels who as Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson Administration ordered the American fleet to take over the Customs House at Vera Cruz on April 21, 1914, an engagement in which 126 Americans and 19 Mexicans died, and 195 Mexicans and 71 Americans were wounded. This measure was designed, so Mr. Daniels tells us, to help "liberty-loving Mexicans to free themselves from the Huerta reign of absolutism." But to Mexicans, both Huertistas and anti-Huertistas, it was an intolerable intervention. Those of us who were youngsters at the time and saw American marines in the ports of Campeche, well remember the pain we suffered in knowing that they were also in Vera Cruz, not as visitors but as masters. Mr. Daniels's appointment as ambassador was received in Mexico at first with surprise, indignation, and threats; his arrival gave rise to hostile acts which, as he tells us, the Mexican government did not make public and was finally able to stamp out.

One of the charms of Mr. Daniels's book lies in the simplicity with which he states that he had forgotten the Vera Cruz incident. His wife had not. "But you can't go to Mexico," she said. "You and Franklin may be sure the Mexicans have not forgotten. . . ." Nevertheless, certain of his good faith and eager to demonstrate it, Daniels accepted the difficult assignment with enthusiasm. When he left Mexico nine years later he carried with him the affection and good-will of many Mexicans. And Mrs. Daniels had had a large share in winning it. Daniels convinced Mexicans that times had changed and that there were many Americans like himself who were determined that the new course of Mexican-American relations should continue. His keen desire that this should be so fills the pages in which he describes his visit to President Madero's widow as well as those in which he condemns the policy of Henry Lane Wilson—and the passages in which he refers to his friendship with the family of Martínez Zorrilla, one of whose sons died defending the Customs House at Vera Cruz.

The book covers nine important years in the history of Mexico—from 1933 to 1942. Mr. Daniels has written his memoirs with facility and skill and charm. He supports his impressions with official documents—which give the book historical importance—and reprints the vivid letters he sent to his friends in North Carolina. The three Presidents of the republic with whom he had official dealings also appear in the book—Abelardo Rodríguez, Lázaro Cárdenas, and Manuel Avila Camacho—as well as many other important figures, such as Plutarco Elias Calles, the former President, and Miguel Alemán, the one-time governor of Vera Cruz and Minister of the Interior who became President in 1946. Mr. Daniels's judgment is always generous and careful. He mentions, and passes judgment on, many high Mexican functionaries, on his own predecessors at the United States embassy, on Americans who visited Mexico during his mission—bankers, intellectuals, newspapermen, artists. Always he expresses a firm and clear opinion, yet never falls into negative or damaging criticism. For example, in referring to Mr. Morrow he says that the former ambassador had "tact and charm," and he uses the phrase, "all the world loves a lover"; yet he concludes by saying that "a Morgan partner could not resist the temptation to direct financial policies." Likewise, in discussing the past and present of Mexico and in describing the places he visited he indulges neither in false praise nor in interpretations which might be offensive to Mexicans.

His book is interesting in other ways—for example, his discussion of the American Confederates who went to Mexico and their relations with the Maximilian empire, a historical episode of the first importance which has never been accorded sufficient study.

Especially important of course are the chapters which deal with the great problems of Mexico—the religious issue and the question of oil. He answers the unjust accusation that he supported religious persecution by presenting documents which completely exonerate him. He writes, "I took every occasion to express my conviction that democracy, freedom of religion, and public education were a trinity that alone would bring light and leading to a free people." At the same time he presents the reasoning of the Calles government: "Catholic church leaders today deny they are in politics, and even when admitting that this is true, the government officials say that they are ready to return to their old activities if they were not restrained by the government measures." With the same impartiality and sense of responsibility, both human and patriotic, he follows the course of the expropriation of the petroleum industry, of which he does not approve and which he regrets, but which he tries to

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handle in accordance with President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy—that was always his goal.

In other valuable pages he follows Mexico's progress up to the time when the good neighbors become comrades-in-arms. Mr. Daniels's modesty veils the importance of his effort to achieve this end. The contents of this book, however, explain how and why Mexico took such a stand so readily and decidedly. A true enemy of Nazi-fascism, Daniels gained the confidence of the anti-fascists of Mexico, and with it the best alliance. As an ardent anti-fascist he also refers to the case of Spain: "One of the most distressing things in the world is these Spanish patriots who sought to have a democratic government and were overthrown, not in a civil conflict as many think, but by Hitler and Mussolini."

In short, this book may be taken as evidence of what an American of the old liberal tradition can achieve to benefit his people and the peoples of other countries.

ANDRES IDUARTE

I. G. Farben

TREASON'S PEACE. By Howard Watson Ambruster. Beechhurst Press. $3.75.

I. G. FARBEN. By Richard Sasuly. Boni and Gaer. $3.

TWICE within a generation the United States has found itself at war with German militarism. Both times the American people learned that they were also at war with an entity known as I. G. Farben, officially the Interessen Gemeinschaft Farbenindustrie, Aktiengesellschaft, more notoriously known as I.G., a chemical combine which at its peak was one of the largest industrial organizations in the world.

The recovery of I. G. Farben after World War I was a prelude to the rearmament of Germany and the rise of Hitler. In the Second World War as in the first I.G. was a mainspring of German aggression. Both of these books weigh the risks involved if once again the passage of a few years should witness the resurgence of I.G., whether or not Germany as a nation ever regains its military might.

During the war-time investigations of international cartels the initials I.G. were encountered as subscripts to one cartel agreement after another. As instance after instance accumulated, it became clear that the role and activities of I.G. were not simply those of an ordinary industrial enterprise but represented rather the behavior of a state within a state. It is enlightening to recall, in view of subsequent events, the ironically disingenuous statement made in 1928 by Dr. Carl Bosch, then chairman of the board of I.G., that "Farben's policy abroad is sadly misunderstood. We are pictured as a formidable trust out to conquer the world."

So striking and so effective were the cartel operations of I.G. before and during World War II that the late President Roosevelt in a letter to Secretary of State Hull compared them to a detective story and warned that the defeat of the Nazi armies would have to be followed by the reduction of this weapon of economic warfare if victory were to be genuine. In the same vein President Wilson stated in a message to Congress at the end of World War I that the German chemical industry, which in effect meant I.G., "was and may well be again a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind."

It is the purpose of these two books to assess the role of I. G. Farben in World War II and to evaluate the measures which have been taken to subdue permanently the chemical colossus which a German writer some years ago called the invisible government of the Reich. Because of the differences in their focus the two books supplement each other. "Treason's Peace" is subtitled "German Dyes and American Dupes." It is largely concerned with the history and scope of I.G.'s influence in American industry and with the infiltration tactics which I.G. has practiced. The study of I.G. by Richard Sasuly is an excellent description of this organism which grew from test tubes and a very clear report of the participation by I.G. in Hitler's plans and deeds.

Everyone who is familiar with the higher economics of the chemical industry is aware that Mr. Ambruster has for many years carried on a one-man crusade against I.G. as well as against developments which appear to him to abet I.G.'s designs. This product

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of his researches, or perhaps more accurately his campaigns, bears the stamp of direct and intimate acquaintance with nearly every phase of the subject.

It is, however, precisely this quality which accounts for some rather obvious defects in the book itself. His perspective is foreshortened, with the consequence that he imputes more than is necessary or probable to the influence of I.G. and upon occasion appears to see I.G.'s sinister profile lurking in the background of every event or policy which he does not like. No one who is familiar with the magnitude and skill of I.G.'s manipulations will gainsay their diabolical cleverness or their repeated success in circumventing and defeating both public and private measures aimed against them. It is quite another mattter, however, to see, as Mr. Ambruster does, an I.G. formula in so many disjunctive circumstances, or to perceive I.G.'s hand guiding the action of quite so many "dupes." Nevertheless, despite all the defects in style and the gaps in his reasoning, Mr. Ambruster tells a very important story in a bold and vigorous way.

Much of the information in Richard Sasuly's analysis as in Ambruster's is a matter of public record in the Kilgore hearings and in the reports which the War Department has issued. Sasuly does a good job of condensation and at the same time provides us with an up-to-date picture of I.G.'s present status. Like Ambruster, Sasuly is concerned to point out that Germany *and* I.G. are always a potentially explosive combination. For the general reader Sasuly's book is especially good because while telling of one of the most fascinating industrial histories of this era it emphasizes the way in which science and industry can become the weapons of philosophies of power.

Both authors, as well as the public, should derive some comfort from the recent indictments of a number of top I. G. Farben officials for criminal complicity in Nazi aggression. Yet it would be dangerous to conclude that the conviction of individuals can resolve the cartel problem in Germany or eliminate I.G. as a potential menace in the future. As long as there is an I.G. in existence, equipped with its vast intangible asset of scientific know-how, its immense research organization, and affiliations reaching into the most vital spots of world industry, vigilance will be necessary to prevent I.G. from employing its alchemy to emulate the Hydra and recoup its power.

C. A. WELSH

The Eternal Enigma

AURELIEN. By Louis Aragon. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. Two Volumes. $6.

I WAS formidably prepared not to like "Aurélien": a Maginot Line of prejudices. Racine's "Bérénice," from which Aurélien borrowed the name of his heroine—unless it be from Barrès—was described as a sigh—"Alas!"—in 1,500 lines. "Aurélien" is "I love you" in 680 pages. In a Du Maurier cartoon two young people are seated in a park. "Darling!" says Edwin. "What, darling?" says Angelina. "Nothing, darling; only darling, darling." The old curmudgeon at the other end of the bench looks bilious. I sympathize with that grumpy listener. Too much is too much, as Madame de Sévigné wisely remarked.

Then I don't like novels in which people sleep around, hucksters' fashion. It is too trite. I object to being dragged day after day to the same shoddy night clubs, meeting the same tarts, ordering the same drinks, as in "The Arch of Triumph" or "Le Sursis" (although Aragon's curaçao appeals to me more than Remarque's calvados). And I am tired of having the five million Parisians who are hard at work serve as a neutral backdrop for a handful of wasters.

Well, I had the same Balaam experience as with Vansittart's book. I like "Aurélien." Two thirds of it describe the slow flowering of a great love, in a world where love is but a flippant jest. Aragon proceeds with the unhurried, unerring, minute pertinacity of a Ph.D. He is in the grand tradition of the psychological novel, from Chrétien de Troyes to Marcel Proust, with Madame de Lafayette, Marivaux, Abbé Prévost, Laclos, Benjamin Constant, Balzac, Stendhal, and (yes, he has his modest legitimate place) Paul Bourget. The book is curiously sincere. It disarms irony.

A great love is a rare masterpiece of

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REPORT FROM SPAIN

By EMMET JOHN HUGHES
TIME Correspondent

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fate. The scalpel which traces every delicate fiber is more civilized than the great but crude symbol of "Tristan," the love philter. Our most vexing social problems, to which *The Nation* devotes all its front pages, are the artificial products of man's stupidity: love is the eternal enigma. We might have a sensible political and economic regime tomorrow if only people would stop promulgating "doctrines" from Washington and Moscow. But shall we ever harmonize liberalism, communism, and totalitarianism in love?

Just as Aurélien and Bérénice have brought their love to a point of spiritual perfection, it mysteriously collapses. Bérénice disappears. Then the novel, which had been moving slowly in the background of the romance, comes to the front. It is a good novel too. Edmond Barbentane is an adventurer, a Bel-Ami banking heavily on his good looks. He rigs up an elaborate plot to get rid of his wife while keeping her fortune. His knavish tricks are frustrated, but he wrests victory out of defeat and marries a still richer wife. Aurélien, abandoned and ruined, takes up a modest job with his poky brother-in-law, at Lille.

All the while we have had excellent sketches of Parisian society—the Faubourg St. Honoré set, big business, politics, art, and pleasure; delicate etchings of Paris in all its moods and seasons, particularly of the Seine from the Ile St. Louis; a priceless New Year's Eve dinner of veterans (after all, the war was the only good time most of them ever had); and above all candid-camera pictures of vanguard groups in poetry and painting, the Dada world that Aragon knows so well. All this could be stuffed into "Men of Good Will": only it is much better.

The Epilogue, daringly, melodramatically, gives the key to the abortive story. Eighteen years later, at the time of France's collapse, Aurélien is again in the army. His unit drifts into R—, where Bérénice lives. They meet. They have become a legend to each other. Although Aurélien loves his wife, Georgette, "Bérénice was his secret, the undertone of poetry in his life, the thing that had never been quite attained and had never come to an end." The story had been told from the point of view of Aurélien; the two lovers had been presented on the same plane. At the last we realize that Bérénice is a true heroine, that Aurélien is commonplace.

Practical, conventional, stodgy, he is ripe for Pétainism and she for resistance. She judges him at last, and he feels himself judged. It is Madame Bovary's revenge. The little provincial bourgeoise, wife of a pathetic and ludicrous village druggist, has a pure and ardent soul.

"Aurélien" was not enthusiastically received in France. It may fail here: not the bulk, but the price, is a handicap. It seems to me vastly superior to books with the same setting which have been sensationally successful. The translation by Eithne Wilkins is excellent.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Chinese

THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE

By Kenneth Scott Latourette

A third edition, revised and enlarged, of the standard history of China. It has been brought up to date in the light of historical events and new knowledge of China which research has revealed during the eleven years since the second edition was issued.

Scholars and critics alike recognized *The Chinese* as an authoritative work. M. S. Bates said in the *American Historical Review*, "In fullness, quality and modernity of treatment...the work stands alone. Nor is it likely to be surpassed for longish years." The *New York Herald Tribune Book Review* said, "Mr. Latourette writes with clarity and simplicity, without sacrificing dignity. The scholarship is in content rather than manner. It is an easy book to read, and worth reading."

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MACMILLAN

Limited Warfare in the Atomic Era

THE REVOLUTION IN WARFARE. By B. H. Liddell Hart. Yale University Press. $2.

LIDDELL HART, the British military writer, had been for twenty-five years the outstanding spokesman of the small-army, limited-warfare school of military thought. In "The Revolution in Warfare" he restates the school's position for the atomic era.

The nub of Hart's argument is that the means of warfare have changed radically since the time of Napoleon whereas the concept of war has not. War remains an act of entire nations in arms. In other words, the awful destructiveness of World Wars I and II was not due simply to the development of new weapons but equally to their employment by huge military forces, by the totality of one society against the totality of another. Hart lays the blame for this on the military philosophers, particularly Clausewitz. The military mind, he says, has been bewitched by Clausewitz's description of war as an act of unlimited violence. So war has been made an act of unlimited violence.

I have never been impressed by Hart's arguments and I am not now. For philosophers have less influence on history than history on philosophers. One must turn toward social forces for an explanation of the extraordinary fury of modern war as contrasted, for example, with war in the eighteenth century. The Napoleonic wars and the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 were extremely violent because sharply conflicting ways of life were at stake.

Thus Hart is on the wrong track in his discussion of total war. How wrong he is emerges clearly in the last chapter, in which he considers the question of future war. He suggests steps to make it a "limited war." However, if there is another war, it will be a war between American capitalism and Russian communism. And that war will unleash passions, violence, and destruction such as no war in history has done. Nevertheless, "The Revolution in Warfare" deserves a reading. As usual Hart does a competent job of summarizing recent developments in the military art.

LEONARD ENGEL

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Films

JAMES AGEE

"Monsieur Verdoux"—III

("Monsieur Verdoux" has been withdrawn and will be re-released only after a United Artists' buildup which will, I hear, try to persuade people that they will kill themselves laughing. I will take care to notify readers of this column of its return, and of changes, if any are made. I am grieved to be so late—or early—with this review, but not very; this film has too long a life ahead of it. It is permanent if any work done during the past twenty years is permanent.)

THE most mysterious line in the film, Verdoux's reference to having "lost" his family, becomes clear if the three are seen as members of a single personality. The wife whom segregation and deceit so inevitably paralyzed was dying a slow death from the moment she became uneasy and failed, with her own kind of misguided tenderness, to beseech her husband's confidence; and the child could not long have survived his mother.

With their death Verdoux all but dies himself. He becomes old, bent, sore, stiff, not only through heartbreak or because all that he most cherished in his nature is destroyed, but because their death has deprived him of the one motive he would recognize for his criminality. The third meeting with Miss Nash, for all its handsome prospects, revives him only to an old man's charming glimmer; but as soon as danger once more requires work of him and, after showing how effortlessly he might escape, he casually surrenders himself to society's vengeance, he limbers up and shines like a snake which has just cast its winter skin. All that remains now is memory and the pure stripped ego, the naked will to survive which discovers, with ineffable relief, that there is no longer any point in surviving.

With his soul dead at last, it is no wonder that Verdoux asserts himself so proudly, in the courtroom and death cell, in terms of his dream of himself. He would have explained himself less proudly and with greater moral understanding to his wife, but he had successfully avoided that possibility, at the cost of their marriage and her life. His dream of himself is urgently challenged only once, by the girl whose life he spares; and he successfully resists that challenge in the strangest and, I think, most frightening scene ever filmed.

I had expected this film to be the last word in misogyny; but although there is a good deal of it about, Verdoux's handling of his victims is in general remarkably genial and kindly. The one really hair-raising moment of that sort is the chance second meeting with the girl, the scene in which he brushes her off. After all, Verdoux risks nothing against the poor frumps he kills or tries to kill, except his life. But the girl is infinitely more dangerous. She is the one human being with whom he holds in common everything he regards as most important. Both have known love as passionate pity for the helpless, both could kill for love; both would be capable of maturer love, if at all, only with their own kind. The girl is much closer to Verdoux than his own wife, or his murdered wives; in sparing her he has betrayed both his marriage and his vocation. Since he is above all else a family man and an artist, she threatens the very structure of his soul. But the deranged and deadlocked will which has made and sustained Verdoux is never so strong or so ruthless as when it faces the threat of cure; and I know of no moment more dreadful or more beautifully achieved than that in which Verdoux veers from the girl, the sun on his suddenly shriveled cheek, and mutters in the shriveled, almost effeminate little voice of more than mortal hatred and

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PUBLIC

A HOME IN THE COUNTRY

Are you one of those individuals whose wife and child are eager for a vacation this summer? Are you disappointed that you cannot rent a bungalow and wondering when you will ever solve this problem of summer residence?

Well, there is a solution. A group of cooperative-minded persons bought a tract of 400 acres in Peekskill, New York, developed the land, built beautiful homes and enabled hundreds of families to live in comfort and economy. This original venture, started in 1923, has now developed into a thriving prosperous community. It is called Mohegan Colony.

In 1939 another group of progressive-minded individuals bought a tract of 200 beautiful acres, near the Bronx River Parkway, a single hour's ride from New York, with adequate facilities for bathing, shopping, etc. With the pre-war, war and post-war difficulties in building, we were not able to start construction. However, at this time we are beginning to build bungalows and are assured of the completion of many of them for use this season.

In our organization all the members are fully protected. A parcel of land can be bought for as little as $200. Improvements on the land are made on a low-cost, cooperative basis. Bungalows are built under the supervision of experts and are similarly designed for satisfying the modest-income group of professionals and white-collar workers.

We are convinced we can enable you—of refined tastes but low income—to own your parcel of land, build your bungalow at little cost and protect you against fraud and exploitation. Ours is not a real estate promotion scheme; it is a legitimate, reliable cooperative enterprise. We are incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. You will have the fullest opportunity to examine our financial standing, to visit our property and to participate in our meetings. We especially invite members of labor unions and progressive organizations generally.

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HENRY FRUCHTER, *President*

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terror: "You go on about your business."

But *why* does Verdoux become a murderer? One good answer is: why not? Verdoux is a business realist; in terms of that realism the only difference between free enterprise in murder and free enterprise in the sale of elastic stockings is the difference in legal liability and in net income. And if the film is regarded as a metaphor for war, we may blush to ask Verdoux *why;* or if it is regarded as a metaphor for the destruction of the soul, murder is almost too mild a vocation. Yet we may still ask why, and wonder why Chaplin's only direct statements, most of which are made through Verdoux, are so remarkably inadequate. Verdoux, to be sure, is grandly in character in holding "society" accountable and in absolving the individual; but is this all that Chaplin knows? If so, he is as surely a victim and dupe of evil as Verdoux or the civilization he excoriates, and all that goes deeper in the film is achieved intuitively, as if in a kind of waking dream. If he knows better, then he is gravely at fault, as artist and moralist, in making clear no more than he does, still worse in tossing the mass-audience so cynical and misleading a sop; and one of the purest and most courageous works I know of is, at its climax, pure and courageous only against the enemy, not in the face of the truth. For the answers to why and how criminality can be avoided, we can look inward more profitably than at the film; for all that is suggested in the film is operant in each of us. If Chaplin had illuminated these bottom causes more brightly than we can see them in ourselves, "Verdoux" would be a still greater work of art than it is. But in proposing so richly suggestive an image of process and effect in the world and in the personality, and in proposing it so beautifully, the film, with all its faults, is one of the few indispensable works of our time.

It even contains and implies the beginning of the answer. Good and evil are inextricable, Verdoux insists. But his fatal mistake was in trying to keep them apart. If the film is regarded as a metaphor for the personality, and through that metaphor, as a metaphor for the personality as the family as business as war as civilization as murder, then this is certain: if the man and wife had honored their marriage with more than their child, the murders would never have been committed, the paralysis would never have imposed itself or would have been dissolved, and the wife and child would never have been shut into that exquisite tabernacle of a closed garden, but all three would have lived as one in that poverty for which the wife was forlorn, in the intactness of soul and the irresponsibility of that anarchic and immortal lily of the field, the tramp, the most humane and most nearly complete among the religious figures our time has evolved; whom for once in his life Chaplin set aside, to give his century its truest portrait of the upright citizen.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

VOX has issued Bach's Sonata in A minor for unaccompanied violin played by Ruggiero Ricci (Set 187). The work is one that I have always found extremely dull, but that I have heard Szigeti play with exciting style. Ricci is too young to have that kind of style; but his performance exhibits a young artist's mastery of his instrument and feeling for music that are impressive and moving. It is recorded with brilliance and pressed on plastic records with noiseless surfaces that are a relief after the surfaces of Vox's shellac records.

Vox also has issued the Polydor recording of Bach's Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C major for organ, as made into a work for piano by Busoni, and performed by Borovsky (Set 193). The work is one of Bach's greatest; but Busoni's treatment of it, which expands Bach's textures and progression of thought with material of Busoni's own devising, is something to avoid; and Borovsky's performance of the Adagio and Fugue is not good. It is recorded with clarity and good balance, but at a low volume-level; and the shellac surfaces are poor.

Another Vox set (163) offers some French piano music played by Gaby Casadesus. The collection includes several charming pieces by Rameau and Couperin and the original and fascinating "Idylle" of Chabrier—as well as pieces by Fauré, Satie, and Ravel that I don't care for. Again I find Mme Casadesus playing with more incisiveness of rhythm and phrasing, more variety of coloring, more musical life than her husband; and her performances are excellently recorded; but surfaces are poor and there is some wavering pitch in my copy.

Still another Vox set (186) offers the Polydor recording of Ravel's "Chansons madécasses" and his arrangements of three Hebrew melodies—music I don't care for, but beautifully sung by Madeleine Grey, soprano, and well recorded. Surfaces again are poor.

Three volumes of Bach's clavier music played on the piano by Erno Balogh have been issued by Disc: the Three-Part Inventions (Set 770; $4.83), the Twelve Little Preludes (Set 771; $3.53), and the Six Little Preludes (Set 772; $3.53). The Twelve Little Preludes are, to my ears, engaging small-scale pieces; but the others are dull keyboard exercises, in spite of being written by Bach. Balogh's playing is not sensitive either in touch or phrasing; and it is well-recorded except for peaks on certain notes. Surfaces again are poor.

On a single vinylite record with not wholly quiet surfaces (4020; $2.31) Disc offers Prokofiev's engaging Sextet on Hebrew themes Opus 34, well-performed by Vivian Rivkin, pianist, David Weber, clarinetist, William Nowinski and George Ockner, violinists, Bernard Milofsky, violist, and William Forstat, cellist, and well-recorded.

Disc also offers a couple of volumes of jazz. Of the Mary Lou Williams piano solos (Set 612; $3.15) only "Lonely Moment" and the fast portion of "Blue Skies" are in the style that I have enjoyed; the rest are a mess of newly acquired harmonic luxuriance and stylistic complication. They are superbly recorded; and the surfaces are quiet. As for the Omer Simeon Trio (Set 708; $2.80), Simeon's clarinet-playing is uninteresting, but James P. Johnson's piano-playing, which I have never enjoyed before, is excellent this time. One of his best sides, "Bandanna Days," wavers badly in pitch; and surfaces are poor.

For those who like John Jacob Niles's mannered singing there is Disc's set (732; $3.93) of early American carols. And for those who like Creole songs, a set of them (629; $3.15) agreeably sung by Adelaide Van Wey.

From Circle comes a set (S-3) called "South Side Shake," with a recreation of the music that was produced at Negro rent parties in Chicago in the 1920's. The musicians are Dan Burley, pianist, and "Pops" Foster, bass-player, who used to perform at those parties, and the McGhee brothers, guitarists. Their method is to keep a single phrase going with exciting momentum for the entire side; and for me the vitality of the performance is not enough compensation for the lack of melodic development.

This Circle volume is part of the back-to-origins movement in jazz that recently brought me this by no means unexpected announcement: "Jazz, which in its infancy bounced forth from the decks of Mississippi River side-wheelers, will shortly be a Hudson River feature. Starring foremost New Orleans musicians, who began their careers on the famous riverboats just thirty years ago . . . the first cruise . . . will cast off from Pier 83 . . . at 9 P. M. on June 6." Describing the efforts of Rudi Blesh and Art Hodes to recover the authentic music that had been lost, the announcement concluded: "The most radical departure of all in the world of hot music is the return of jazz to the river on June 6." But there is still another step to be taken; and I am waiting for the announcement that will begin: "Jazz, which in its infancy bounced forth from the brothels of New Orleans, will shortly return. . . ."

Decca also has done a little reviving of the past by issuing a Brunswick Collectors' Series volume of performances (1926-1928) by King Oliver and his Dixie Syncopators (Set B-1022; $3.50). The only ones I thought outstanding were "Sugar Foot Stomp" and "Snag It" (on 80081).

I got more pleasure from Decca's volumes of the songs from "Annie, Get Your Gun" (Set 468; $5.25) and "Call Me Mister" (Set 466; $4.50), and Columbia's volume of the music of "Finian's Rainbow" (Set 686; $5.50), with Ethel Merman, Betty Garrett, and Ella Logan respectively, and others of the original casts.

Letters to the Editors

Callou, Callay for Harry!

Dear Sirs: "President Truman," said the Red Queen, "is a dear."

"You are speaking of his offer to Greece," said Alice.

"Of course I am," said the Red Queen. "He is unexceptional."

"But," said Alice, "it's a long way away. Don't we have a Monroe Doctrine to keep outside nations from coming into the Americas?"

"This," said the Red Queen, "is a slight extension of the Monroe Doctrine." JOHN BUCHAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia, June 11

The Same Fight

Dear Sirs: At the beginning of 1897, Candia, seeking its freedom, took up arms against Turkey. Macedonia, in a magnificent act of solidarity, followed suit. The war between Greece and the Turks was on.

The Italian youth made ready to assist in the Hellenic resurrection. The University Committee of Rome appealed to the students of all Italian universities and asked advice of the greatest Roman minds. In reply Giovanni Bovio, the great educator and philosopher of

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true democracy, wired us on February 17: "I advise you to second the Hellenic movement in Candia." Cesare Lombroso wrote, "I would like to be younger and do more than utter words."

Meanwhile the University Committee, in conjunction with many committees scattered all over Italy, began to organize a University Legion and offered its command to General Stefano Canzio, son-in-law of Garibaldi.

However, the Italian government, part and parcel of the Triple Alliance, did not share our vision and sought in many ways to hamper the expedition. I managed, as special correspondent of *Avanti,* to embark from Brindisi for Corfu, and in Athens I received a last letter from General Stefano Canzio saying he hoped to join us soon.

But just as his ship was about to leave Genoa it was seized by the police. The expedition was stopped, but the many students and volunteers who had reached Hellenic shores joined the Garibaldi Legion organized by Ricciotti Garibaldi. I joined the First Garibaldi Battalion, which moved toward Epirus. On the flank of the Greek troops commanded by Colonel Botzaris, we passed into the territory occupied by the Turks, who were marching toward Jannina.

This campaign had its sad epilogue on May 17 at Domokos in Thessaly, where, among the seven hundred dead and wounded on the Greek side, a hundred were Italians.

There is no doubt that the Hellenic adventure was part of the long-fought struggle for freedom which had found Italy and Greece standing side by side in 1860 and 1866. Today, once again, the liberty-loving sons of the two countries are united in the new struggle for freedom. GASPARE NICOTRI

New York, June 17

Lamb or Falcon?

Dear Sirs: May I be permitted to correct several inaccuracies and to defend myself against certain unjust charges in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s review of my book "Allies Betrayed" (*The Nation,* February 22). Let us examine a few of Mr. Schlesinger's specific complaints:

1. "Mr. Martin," he says, "is able to turn calmly to so notorious and violent a pan-Serb as Lieutenant Colonel Zhivan Knezevich as a reliable source." Nowhere do I quote Colonel Knezevich directly or call upon him as a final authority; the several "quotes" I do employ are reproductions of official documents that appear in the Colonel's writings. The authenticity of these documents has been confirmed by ex-Premier Slobodan Jovanovich, as well as by members of the British mission.

2. "The calculation as between Tito and Mihailovich . . . was a simple one," says Schlesinger. "No responsible statesman in 1943 could base his policy on the premise that Britain and America were fighting Russia." The implication here is that the alternative to supporting Tito was supporting Mihailovich in a war against Tito, and that this, in effect, was my position. This is an unpardonable misstatement of my thesis. My argument was that Britain and America could have—and should have—forced a compromise on the two warring factions. Such a compromise, based on a territorial delimitation, was recommended by both the British and the American mission attached to Mihailovich as well as by Lieutenant Colonel Lynn M. Farish, senior American member of the Anglo-American mission at Tito's headquarters. All of them were convinced of its feasibility.

3. Mr. Schlesinger questions my statement that Tito's movement at its height "was a minority movement which had won for itself the active hostility of the Serb, Croat, and Slovene people." I think he would agree in general, however, that in this day and age it is quite feasible for totalitarian minority movements to seize power and maintain themselves in power against a disunited (because democratic) majority. He might also be prepared to accept the word of a number of liberals who went to Yugoslavia fully prepared to be sympathetic, that approximately 80 per cent of the people are hostile to the regime. (I name only Bogdan Raditsa and Hal Lehrman, *Nation* correspondents, and Ann Dacey of the *New Statesman and Nation.*) My argument is that Tito's movement, from the very beginning of the civil war, governed by the methods it employs today on a national scale (Schlesinger calls it "an intolerable dictatorship") and was approximately as popular with the Yugoslav people as it is today.

4. "Tito has turned out a despot," says Mr. Schlesinger. It would be interesting to find out when he made this discovery. The fact is that Tito has *always* been a Soviet despot—and the miniature Soviet regimes which Schlesinger and other liberals mistakenly described as "popular democracy" during the incredible heyday of the Tito vogue were as tyrannical as is the national regime today. Here, indeed, is the crux of the entire problem. If the Partisan movement really was a popular democratic movement, then there could be no excusing any "accommodations"—no matter how limited—directed against it. But if it was not a "popular democratic" movement but a movement of "intolerable dictatorship," the obvious purpose of which was the establishment of a Soviet regime (the peasants of Yugoslavia, many of whom experienced the Partisan regime on their own backs, understood this much better than did Churchill, Deakin, and Schlesinger), then perhaps the Chetniks were right in playing off one enemy against the other.

5. The business of Partisans killing Germans has been fantastically exaggerated. Mr. Schlesinger, unfortunately, now adduces these fantasies as facts. On their own admission, the bulk of the Partisan effort was directed against the Chetniks. "In actual practice," said Cholakovich, one of Tito's commanders, "more men fell on both sides in that fratricidal struggle . . . than in the struggle against the invader and the Ustashi" ("The Epic of Yugoslavia," page 46). The Partisans killed somewhat more Germans than did the Chetniks, but from the standpoint of the conclusion of the war it was all peanuts. The important consideration, strategically, was not *killing* Germans but *tying down* Germans—and with their more passive and infinitely less costly policy of limited activity the Chetniks, by their mere presence and occasional action, tied down as many Germans per square mile in their territory as the Partisans did in theirs. DAVID MARTIN

New York, June 10

Friends from Britain

Dear Sirs: I would like to draw your attention to the World Youth Friendship League which has been formed to further understanding between young people of all nations through correspondence and travel. Requests are reaching us for pen friends in America, and in order that we may be able to provide our members with suitable correspondents I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to publish our address in your journal. It is 39 Forest Drive West, London, E, 11.

ARTHUR H. BIRD,
Editor, *International Youth Review*

London, June 8

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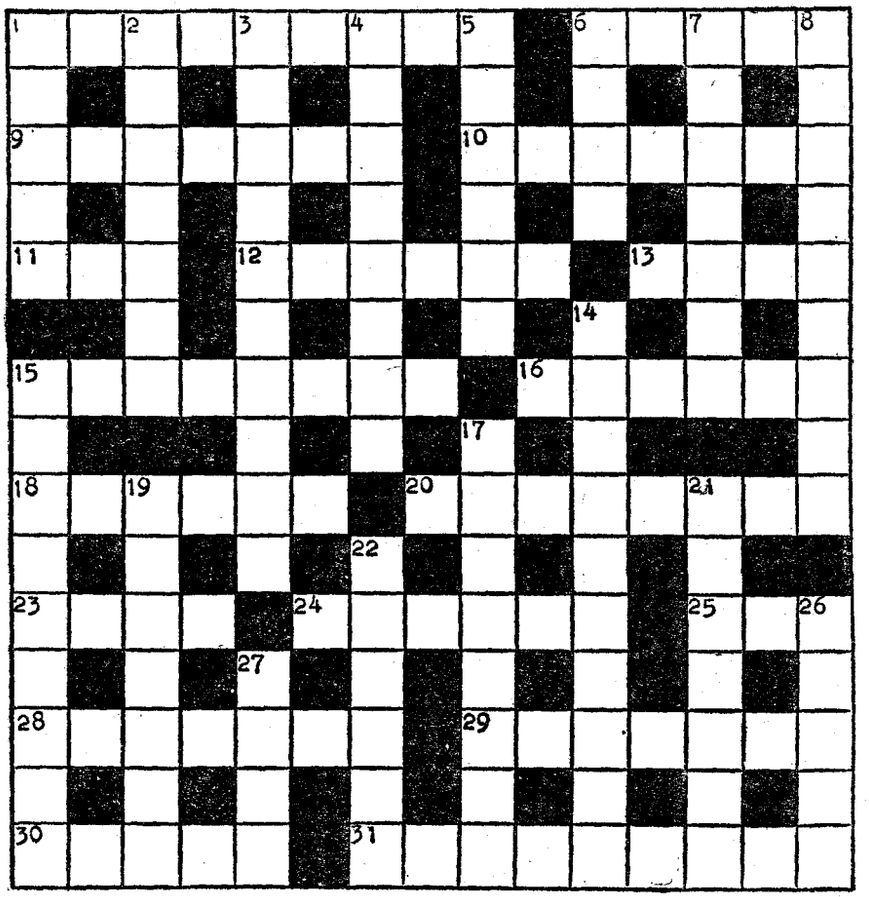
Crossword Puzzle No. 216

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Not a sign of great irritation in card-players making it (5 & 4)
6 O call it a pub
9 Granted that none were solvent
10 Also known as the pewit, because of its cry
11 15 Across's awe-inspiring god
12 A trap for the unwary
13 One had a delicate air
15 "And every - - - - - - - - tells his tale Under the hawthorn in the dale"
16 Came in for the movie show
18 Many Americans would vote it their favorite opera
20 Means of tube travel to facilitate further travel (4-4)
23 "God sends meat and the Devil sends - - - - s"
24 Virtue and these seldom settle on one man, said Machiavel
25 - - - alliteration's artful aid
28 What you would expect on a farm in the Rockies
29 Call to a clan to surround a South American port
30 Owner of two pairs of shoes
31 The press in deed is not cheerful

DOWN

1 "Tender-handed stroke a nettle, And it stings you for your pains; - - - - - it like a man of mettle, And it soft as silk remains"
2 Galleon (anag.)
3 Shabby—or where the obedient dog should be when called (4-2-4)
4 Hen, orange with black spots
5 Beastly obstinate
6 Cuts fifty works that are already cut
7 They don't have this in England, only weather
8 Lay down the law whose limb is tardy
14 The difficulty is to keep cool in the course of this getaway (4-6)
15 Just the stuff for "bags"
17 Wear it or drink it at bedtime
19 The farm's earliest riser
21 It is Cal! (anag.)
22 I'd follow lamely, it is clear
26 Harmonized (the duet in it perhaps)
27 A poet's inn is

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 215

ACROSS:—1 OKLAHOMA; 8 CRUISER; 9 STANDING; 10 ANCHORS; 12 ALIVE; 13 HUDDLE; 14 INLAW; 15 LEGREE; 17 TIDES; 22 MICAH; 23 STANZA; 24 CADET; 26 LOLLED; 28 ETHIC; 29 BENARES; 30 HUNTSMAN; 31 RIGGING; 32 ATLANTIS.

DOWN:—1 OBSTACLE; 2 LEAVINGS; 3 HODGE; 4 MANCHE; 5 BRAND; 6 HICHENS; 7 HEARSAY; 10 AD LIB; 11 CLIENT; 16 EDITOR; 18 TAILS; 19 ON THE MAT; 20 MAECENAS; 21 VALERIE; 22 MELANGE; 25 ADJUST; 27 LEANS; 28 EXTRA.

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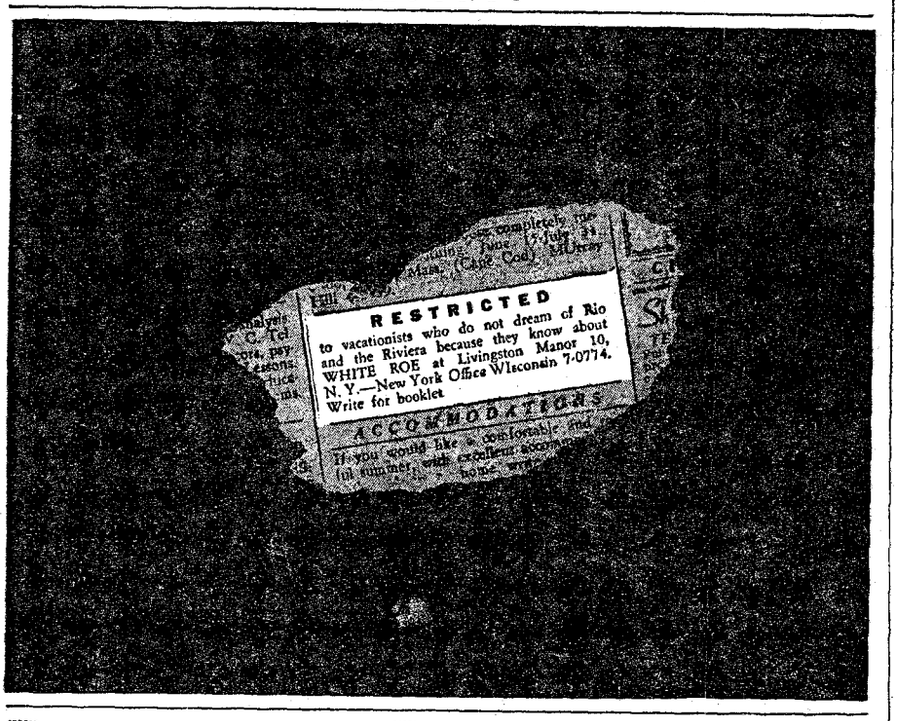
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